FBIS DAILY REPORT

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PRISON RIOT RESULTS IN 55 DEAD

PY151552Y Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1400 GMT 15 Mar 78 PY

[Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 15 Mar--The national director of the Federal Penitentiary Service reported today that the riot in cell block No 7 of the Villa Devoto Detention Institution yesterday morning caused the death of 55 prisoners out of the 161 prisoners in the cell block.

The communique states that the tragedy was the result of a fire started by the prisoners after they attacked penitentiary personnel who were conducting a routine inspection. Faced with this situation, the personnel retreated, preventing the rioters from taking any hostages.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON KILLING OF MONTONEROS SUBVERSIVE

PY141956Y Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1552 GMT 14 Mar 78 PY

[Communique issued on 14 March 1978 by Command Zone 1]

[Text] Command Zone 1 reports to the population that at approximately 0830 on 11 March 1978, members of the legal forces killed a subversive known as Ramon, a member of the self-styled Montoneros subversive Marxist criminal gang, in a house located at 7th and Castanos streets, in the locality of Berazategui.

The legal forces were at the time carrying out a population control operation when shots came from the aforementioned house. These shots killed Corporal 1st Class Oscar Arroyo, a member of the Buenos Aires provincial police department.

A woman inside the house requested permission to leave the house with her sons, aged 12 and 8 years, a request which the legal forces accepted to safeguard the lives of the children. The legal forces later ordered the person who was firing the shots to surrender but he continued firing. This attack was repelled and the criminal was killed.

The following material was found inside the house during a later search by the forces:

One FAL with three clips; two 9-mm Browning automatic rifles with their numbers removed; three grenades manufactured by Montoneros; two grenade launchers with the necessary carrying equipment; 20 kg of plastic explosives; 200 electric detonators; two mimeographs; large and varied amounts of medical equipment; large numbers of documents (reports, checks, false documents, unused identity cards, etc); large numbers of subversive pamphlets.

Command Zone 1 wishes to pay tribute to Corporal 1st Class Arroyo who entered the Buenos Aires provincial police department on 15 September 1965. He was married and the father of six children of 14, 11, 8, 6 and 5 [as published] years.

Another family grieves for this public servant who gave his life so that you may live in peace. No one will issue human rights proclamations in his name, for he has our everlasting gratitude.

FURTHER COMMENTS BY ALLARA ON PARANA

PY141759Y Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1210 GMT 14 Mar 78 PY

[Excerpts] Buenos Aires, 14 Mar--Capt Gualter Allara, Argentine under secretary for foreign relations and head of the Argentine delegation to the tripartite talks starting today in Asuncion, has stated that "the agreements which may be reached at this tripartite meeting must be, of course, ratified by higher authorities. This may even lead to high-level meetings. However, I believe it is still early to speak of that."

He indicated that the Argentine delegation has come to Asuncion imbued with good will and with the constructive desire to achieve an understanding with the brother countries of Paraguay and Brazil, and an agreement which will be acceptable and take into account the interests of the three countries.

Asked to confirm his statement yesterday in Asuncion in which he had indicated that the intervention of higher authorities in making the hydroelectric undertakings compatible should not be disregarded, Captain Allara indicated that this may happen if necessary.

In response to a question concerning the spirit which prevailed among the Paraguayan and Brazilian delegations, Allara stated: "So far we have had no contact with them but we are sure they are as well disposed as we are, because this is what we have encountered during prior technical meetings."

The Argentine under secretary made these statements during an interview relayed by telephone and broadcast by Radio Belgrano during its program "La Revista Brava."

BISHOPS MEET TO STUDY NATIONAL SITUATION

PY131420Y Paris AFP in Spanish 1139 GMT 13 Mar 78 PY

[Excerpts] Buenos Aires, 13 Mar--Church sources announced that leaders of the Argentine Catholic Church today began a secret meeting to examine the country's socio-economic situation and the human rights problem. All of the nation's bishops will participate. The meeting is to draw up the agenda for the next bishops' meeting to be held in Buenos Aires at the end of April, according to authorized spokesmen.

The sessions which began today in this capital will last through tomorrow with the participation of 15 bishops and archbishops. It is the first meeting of Argentine Catholic Church leaders in 1978.

Members of the permanent committee of the Argentine Episcopate--the organization which is meeting--confirmed this morning that the nation's socioeconomic situation is one of the principal subjects of their talks.

The "human rights" issue and "the concern expressed by the bishops to the government" are also on the agenda. The meeting will be held at a Catholic school located almost 35 kilometers northeast of Buenos Aires.

ARCHBISHOP TO SEND VIDELA LETTER ON HUMAN RIGHTS

PY142150Y Paris AFP in Spanish 1607 GMT 14 Mar 78 PY

[Text] Buenos Aires, 14 Mar--Msgr Raul Primatesta, president of the Argentine Episcopal Conference, stated here today that he will send a letter to President Jorge Videla concerning the political prisoners and persons who have disappeared. Cardinal Primatesta, who is archbishop of Cordoba, spoke about violence in Argentina. He said: "We must be frank and not deceive ourselves about it," even though "there seem to be people who want to go on with it."

The church leader also stated that the letter he plans to write to the president will be in response to a request made by the episcopal conference whose meeting closed here today.

BRIEFS

LA PRENSA EDITOR--Elvira Castro de Gainza Paz, who succeeded her husband Alberto Gainza Paz as head of the LA PRENSA Company, has named her son Maximo Gainza as the new editor of the well-known newspaper. The new general manager of LA PRENSA named by Mrs Gainza Paz is Jose Gainza. [Buenos Aires HERALD in English 13 Mar p 9 PY]

COLOMBIAN OFFICER LEAVES--Buenos Aires, 13 Mar--Gen Alfonso Rodriguez Rubiano, chief of the Colombian Air Force, left for his country today after a 1-week visit to our country. [Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1150 GMT 13 Mar 78 PY]

STATE SECRETARY TO URUGUAY--Mario Cadenas Madariaga, Argentine secretary for agriculture and livestock, went to Montevideo yesterday where he met with Uruguayan Minister of Agriculture and Fishing Estanislao Valdes Otero. The two high-ranking government officials discussed the status of the international meat trade; the position of the two countries at the coming Canberra meeting which will be attended by the four main meat-exporting countries, Argentina, Uruguay, New Zealand and Australia; and the implementation of the meat agreement signed in Rome in November 1977. The Argentine state secretary indicated that Argentina and Uruguay's joint position at the Canberra meeting will be studied by a specially created joint commission. [Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 1030 GMT 14 Mar 78 PY]

NUCLEAR ISOTOPE PLANT--The National Atomic Energy Commission [CNEA] has announced that at noon today it will dedicate a plant for the manufacturing of capsule-sealed cobalt 60 at the Ezeiza atomic center. The plant will manufacture high-activity radio isotopes and capsule-sealed cobalt 60 for medical and industrial uses. [Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 1030 GMT 14 Mar 78 PY]

CREDIT FOR COLOMBIA--Buenos Aires, 14 Mar--It was reported here today that Argentine National Bank has granted a $20 million line of credit to the Coffee Bank of Bogota, Colombia. The credit will be used in the import of Argentine manufactured products. [Paris AFP in Spanish 1056 GMT 14 Mar 78 PY]

PLANNED U.S. SALE OF TIN STIRS PROTESTS

Anti-U.S. Demonstration

PA160404Y Madrid EFE in Spanish 0310 GMT 16 Mar 78 PA

[Excerpt] La Paz, 15 Mar (EFE)--An anti-U.S. demonstration, the first in about 6 years, was held here this afternoon by the political alliance which supports the government-backed candidacy of Gen Juan Pereda Asbun. The march was the first public reaction in La Paz since the U.S. Government announced its decision to sell 45,000 metric tons of tin. There were no street disorders during the 1-and-1/2-hour march. The U.S. Embassy, the information office and other agencies, however, were heavily guarded throughout the afternoon.

Pereda, Others Address Rally

PY160234Y Buenos Aires LATIN in Spanish 0015 GMT 16 Mar 78 PY

[By Rene Villegas]

[Text] La Paz, 15 Mar--A popular rally in La Paz this afternoon repudiated the U.S. threat of the international sale of 50,000 tons of its strategic tin reserves, harshly condemning Carter's administration and Yankee imperialism.

In an emotional speech delivered to thousands of workers and employees rallied in a downtown plaza, Gen Juan Pereda Asbun, candidate for the Bolivian presidency, stated that the Bolivian people are watchful and firm in the face of this U.S. aggression. Pereda, leader of the political movement called People's Nationalist Union [UNP], sponsored the first protest action against the U.S. threat to dump its tin reserves, which would seriously affect the Bolivian economy.

The rally prevented administrative, commercial and banking activities, which had been carried out normally in La Paz until noon. The downtown sector was crowded in the afternoon by groups of civilians who boisterously repudiated the U.S. Government.

Three speakers addressed the people, who then peacefully broke up at the expressed request of the presidential candidate, former commander of the Bolivian Air Force and former minister in the present government.

Mining leader Francisco Chambi Monroy, of a labor group supporting the nationalist popular front, harshly condemned the U.S. attitude against the economic interests of Bolivia, second largest tin producer in the world. He called President Jimmy Carter--whose initiative to sell tin reserves is still pending congressional approval--an enemy and executioner of poor countries such as Bolivia.

Edwin Tapia Frontanilla, member of the UNP National Committee, issued a similar criticism of the United States and indicated that this rally is the first step of legitimate Bolivian defiance in the face of an absurd and useless imperialist aggession.

Pereda Asbun, standing in the middle of the balcony on a building decorated with a huge picture of him and Bolivian flags, maintained that the Washington government is ready to carry out a flagrant aggression against the Bolivian economy, using the strategic minerals which Bolivia itself gave the United States during World War II as a contribution to the defense of democracy. Pereda criticized the U.S. administration for the presumed defense of human rights which the United States assumed a year ago, while it intends to deprive the Bolivian people of their fundamental right to survival. He said: "They cannot speak of human rights when they condemn us to unemployment and famine. Human rights means establishing a new international economic order in which rich countries pay fair prices for raw materials purchased from poor countries."

Pereda Asbun, at present in the active reserve, encouraged Latin American countries to join in defense of their interests and the Third World countries to seek the implementation of a new international economic order which can defend the aspirations and needs of the poor countries in the world. Gen Juan Pereda ended his fervent speech by greeting the U.S. people who disagree with the imperialist system which is exerting pressure on underdeveloped countries such as Bolivia.

Minister Calls Sale Mistaken

PY151535Y La Paz Radio Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 15 Mar 78 PY

[Text] Mining and Metallurgy Minister Ernesto Camacho Hurtado has stated that the Bolivian Government believes that the sale of 45,000 long tons of tin, announced by the United States, is a mistaken measure, since it will increase the shortage of the mineral on the market. He asserted that the decision, instead of closing the gap [between supply and demand], will cause greater shortages, because the causes for the continuing tin shortage in the world will be aggravated through lack of real market incentives.

Yesterday afternoon Minister Camacho talked with representatives of the press in order to explain to them the situation after the U.S. announcement. He said that the U.S. ambassador had visited him in his office and confirmed the decision of his country to sell 45,000 long tons of tin on the world market.

[begin Camacho recording] The immediate effect of the announcement [words indistinct] will be a price slump to an unforeseeable level. This will discourage mining investment and cause a lowering of prsent production levels with the result that the flow of tin to the market will gradually diminish. [end recording]

He also said that the only way of closing the gap on the market is to guarantee stable and profitable prices for the producer, instead of causing greater instability, as is now expected.

[begin Camacho recording] The negative effects on our national economy are very obvious. They have been pointed out by the minig and metallurgy sector in the statement it has issued. It gives you an idea of the impact we have felt in tne last 13 days through the slump of the tin price on the commodities exchange from $5.51 per fine pound in February to $5.29 per fine pound during the last week. As a result, the country has failed to collect $200,000, based on the average weekly exports. [end recording]

The minister then explained that the dollars the country is now receiving through the sale of tin ore have not the same purchasing power, because of the artificial devaluation of the U.S. currency. He then said that in view of the situation which has developed, the Bolivian International Tin Council [CIEBOL] is holding intensive meetings regarding a strategy which will be announced to the public after it has been approved by President Hugo Banzer.

The marketing director of the Mining Ministry stated that the only measure Bolivia can take to counter the U.S. sale is that of asking the International Tin Council [ITC] to increase the minimum price. This means that Bolivia would request an increase of the present minimum quotation of 1,200 Malaysian dollars per picul to 1,400 Malaysian dollars per picul, in accordance with the Bolivian strategy.

The mining and metallurgy minister also made an accusation of domestic economic aggression, taking place mainly in the Catavi mining district through acts of sabotage. He stated that in the last 2 months these isolated acts have multiplied and that premeditated and systematic sabotage was committed in February. As a specific example he mentioned acts of sabotage in the Catavi plant of [words indistinct] according to a (?report) issued by the Mining Corporation of Bolivia [COMIBOL]. He also told of acts committed in February which have hindered the normal development of mining activities. Minister Camacho Hurtado said that the sabotage is being done by persons and groups which have not yet been identified by the officials. He asserted, however, thet the plan (?to hinder) the normal functioning of COMIBOL has political implications.

SILES ZUAZO ASSAILS RECORD OF MILITARY REGIME

PY160005Y La Paz Radio Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 15 Mar 78 PY

[Text] Former President Hernan Siles Zuazo has proposed a broad national agreement for peaceful resistence in defense of the people's rights against what he called national [words indistinct]. At a press conference Hernan Siles Zuazo painted a picture of political events in Bolivia during the last 6 years, harshly criticizing the government. He stated that a long and systematic imposition of dictatorship has led to the distortion of the national truth to such extremes that the Bolivian people must now defend its vital values and objectives or surrender without a struggle to a fawning and regressive system, determined to institutionalize itself with all the means in its power. He then added:

[begin Siles recording] It is a matter of indefinitely protecting the public establishment and its components, from repression and dependency, from massacres and political crimes, from enrichment from disgraceful sources, from the betrayal of just national claims, from collective demoralization, from violation of freedom and social jutice, in a word, from the frustration and defenselessness of the fatherland which stands on one of the lowest rungs of South American underdevelopment. [end recording]

Hernan Siles Zuazo also said that the regime has not hesitated to raise the flag of the national revolution of April 1952 to disguise its real intentions and to compel the people to shoulder an experiment which makes it impossible for them to attain full development as a nation and face the numerous challenges of our times.

When speaking of the lack of freedom for the Bolivian people, Siles Zuazo said:

[begin Siles recording] For over 6 years our people have been deprived of their constitutional rights. Lacking means to organize and express themselves, they have not had any opportunity to make pronouncements or decisions regarding great national problems. The outlawing of political parties and the labor movement gave the dictatorship the monopoly of all initiatives, both in domestic and foreign policy. Bolivia is now rather like a country on auction, with a gagged people who are compelled to endure a continuous denial of their national development. Constant fraud has been introduced as a government practice and the people are only informed about accomplished facts. [end recording]

He then added that a recent U.S. imperialist maneuver, the dumping of part of its strategic tin reserves on the international market, has caused the Bolivian people serious economic injury.

In other remarks, the former president referred to a sort of smokescreen which hinders knowledge of the reality of the nation.

[begin Siles recording] A smokescreen policy has prevented a clear vision of the situation in the country. After years of being denied their existence, the principal political parties (?cannot) admit the continuity and impunity of the process initiated in 1971. They have demanded clear programs, specific guidelines and plans for public affairs which the so-called armed forces government has managed exclusively, outside the constitution. [end recording]

Hernan Siles Zuazo concluded by proposing a national agreement on peaceful resistence. Let us listen to his words:

[begin Siles recording] Since the conditions are present for the fight of nationalism against colonialism, we appeal for a broad agreement on civic resistence in defense of the rights of the people and their advance toward participatory democracy, social, political and human rights [words indistinct] the 1952 revolution. This is the only peaceful way to prevent the prolongation of the regime which has set up an official candidate who travels about with the help of the state and the monetary resources of the new superstate. [end recording]

These are the main parts of the press conference given by former President Hernan Siles Zuazo.

WALTER GUEVARA ARCE TO RETURN FROM EXILE

PY152105Y La Paz Radio Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 15 Mar 78 PY

[Text] Walter Guevara Arce, national leader of the Authentic Revolutionary Party [PRA], will return to this country on Thursday 16 March. This was reported to Radio Panamericana by (Mario Escalante), press secretary of the party. He also said that Walter Guevara Arce, after having finished his book "X-Raying the Negotiations with Chile," is now ready to resume the PRA leadership. Walter Guevara will come by way of Lima from Caracas, where he has been in exile for several years. Regarding the activities of the party, (Escalante) said that it is now reorganizing its political panel [words indistinct]. He said that PRA is forming strong political groups in the mining districts to participate in the coming elections.

PINOCHET PRAISES PEOPLE'S SUPPORT OF GOVERNMENT

PY151355Y Santiago Chile Radio Mineria Network in Spanish 1030 GMT 15 Mar 78 PY

[Text] Vallenar--President Agusto Pinochet has praised the support given by Chilean citizens in the recent national consultation by saying that it was an example of unity and a repudiation of those who aspire to intervene in our domestic affairs. Moreover, he warned that this is not the last aggression [alluding to the UN Human Rights Commission Report] which Chile will experience in its domestic affairs.

Pinochet made this statement during a civic ceremony held in the Vallenar main square which was also attended by regional and community officials.

President Pinochet arrived in Vallenar accompanied by his wife, Lucia Iriart, and government officials with whom he would later carry out various activities in the area. These activities will conclude this afternoon with the inauguration of the (?Pelec) plant belonging to the Aceros del Pacifico Company, located in Huasco.

In his speech General Pinochet thanked the entire population for its support during the national consultation which he said will have continuing impact abroad and significance in our domestic affairs.

The president added: With the support achieved on 4 January our enemies, who do not cease in their campaign carried on from within and outside of Chile to regain power, have experienced the most severe blow yet.

Later the president presided over a meeting at the Vallenar government center during which local officials briefed him on the progress of development programs in the area.

GOVERNMENT DECLARES GENERAL POLITICAL AMNESTY

PA152042Y Paris AFP in Spanish 1929 GMT 15 Mar 78 PA

[Text] Lima, 15 Mar (AFP)--It has been officially announced that the government today decreed an amnesty that permits the return of all exiled Peruvians. According to an Interior Ministry communique, the decision was taken in order to provide the broadest opening and facilities for the Constituent Assembly elections and so that the people may participate fully in the process.

In the communique, the government appeals to citizens so that motivations for this decision are not misinterpreted or become a cause of disturbance or breakdown of the climate of peace necessary to carry out the electoral process. The communique recalls that in order to be a representative to the Constituent Assembly one must be Peruvian by birth, above 25 years of age and a citizen in good standing and recorded in the electoral registry. These conditions may eliminate the candidacies of several exiles, particularly certain military officers exiled in Venezuela, who apparently lack electoral passbooks.

It has been estimated that there are some 20 Peruvian exiles abroad, most of them members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR). The PSR claims it is responsible for the expansion of the current revolutionary process' so-called first phase, which was originally led by deceased President Juan Velasco Alvarado. PSR President Ret Gen Leonidas Rodriguez was one of the country's most influential men [words indistinct].

LIMA, CALLAO CITY WORKERS END WORK STOPPAGE

PY151425Y Lima Domestic Service in Spanish 1200 GMT 15 Mar 78 PY

[Text] By order of the General Assembly of Delegates, the Departmental Federation of Lima and Callao Municipal Workers yesterday agreed to halt the work stoppage it has been carrying out. This fact was made known in a document sent to Interior Minister Gen Luis Cisneros Vizquerra.

RAILWAY WORKERS END STRIKE 14 MARCH

PY151430Y Lima Domestic Service in Spanish 1200 GMT 15 Mar 78 PY

[Text] It has been reported that the railway workers yesterday promised to halt their strike as soon as (?an official) delegation leaves Lima in order to come and seek solutions to their claims. [words indistinct]

Meanwhile, the regulation of the Labor Ministry, warning workers that if they do not return to their jobs they will be accused of abandoning their work, is still in force.

SCIENCE DELEGATION INQUIRES ABOUT PRISONERS

PY142338Y Paris AFP in Spanish 1431 GMT 14 Mar 78 PY

[Text] Montevideo, 14 Mar--Chemistry Nobel Prize winner (1971) Christian Afinsen today said that the health of former Uruguayan communist leader Jose Luis Massera is "good" and the treatment he gets in prison is "correct."

Afinsen came to Montevideo last week as the head of a U.S. Academy of Sciences delegation to find out about the human rights situation in Uruguay and to interview communist prisoners.

Among the latter is Massera, mathematician, former congressman and former first secretary of the Communist Party, who, according to Afinsen, is getting his correspondence and books and is "sunburned," which shows that "he does not stay locked up all the time or anything like that."

In a statement he made shortly before he left Afinsen confirmed that yesterday he met with Supreme Military Court President Col Federico Silva Ledesma, who "cleared up several doubts and refuted inexact information which was being released abroad about the situation of Uruguayan prisoners."

Afinsen indicated that the president of the Supreme Court reported on the status of the trials of all prisoners, especially Massera's trial, "showing that every legal procedure has been fulfilled in accordance with Uruguayan laws."

The mission also visited Massera's wife and held a meeting with Uruguayan scientists and teachers at the U.S. Embassy last night.

Afinsen concluded by stating that he received the broad cooperation of Uruguayan officials who imposed no restrictions or refused information and indicated that at the end of the month he will submit a report on the trip to Uruguayan State Councilor (Federico Garcia Capurro).

BRIEFS

FOREIGN DEBT--The government has reported that Uruguay must pay $170.5 million on the foreign debt this year. This year's payment is the largest in the period up to 1980. According to statistics, Uruguay's foreign debt up to 30 September 1977 was $1,172,100,000. [Montevideo Cadena de Oro del Interior in Spanish 1600 GMT 9 Mar 78 PY]

ARTICLE REVIEWS POLICY TOWARD BRAZIL, U.S.

PA151937Y Caracas El NACIONAL in Spanish 9 Mar 78 p A-4 PA

[Article by Ramon Rojas Cabot: "Washington, Brazil and Venezuelan Oil"]

[Text] During his tenure, Kissinger defined U.S. and Brazilian relations as special, and during an official visit to that country he publicly reiterated this policy before the world by stating the intention of making Brazil a leader in Latin America because it meets the objective conditions for such a role. Subsequently, Ford lost the elections and the winning Democratic candidate who attained the White House shifted the emphasis in U.S. foreign policy to human rights in order to undercut Soviet propaganda by attacking the Soviet system's most sensitive spot.

As is always the case, the new Washington foreign policy hit the less efficient and powerful nations on the rebound, thus temporarily hurting Brazil's unique military regime. To this must be added Carter's opposition to Brazil's nuclear development plan with West German assistance. Under such circumstances, the Venezuelan president voiced his support for Carter's human rights policy and assailed Brazil's nuclear development plans.

However, this did not last long. Soon, we saw that Washington's attitude toward Brazil mellowed. Meanwhile, Carter described the Venezuelan president as his friend and advisor during a visit the Venezuelan president made to Washington and in view of the latter's efforts in favor of the new Panama Canal treaty.

Then Venezuela's attitude shifted, to such an extent that it came into contradiction with its previous position. The Venezuelan president accepted and made an official visit to Brazil. This was shortly after he had agreed to award the large Guayana project for 8 billion bolivares to the Brazilian enterprise Correia y Camargo and authorized the opening of an agency of the powerful Banco do Brasil in Caracas.

Immediately after this trip by the Venezuelan president to Brazil, during which the issue of human rights was not raised, Carter's announced visit to Brazil and Venezuela was postponed. The visit is scheduled for the end of this month, provided something more important on the Democratic President's agenda does not interfere, as was the case in 1977.

It is clear that Kissinger's and Nixon's shadows--that is, political realism--continue to haunt U.S. foreign policy. When Washington assails the USSR on the human rights issue, a political need and individual common good are satisfied. But this double standard becomes hard to handle in regard to other countries such as Brazil, the military regime of which is a Washington ally and which, besides, has not allowed itself to be impressed to any great extent by criticism of certain aspects of its administration. as may be the case with other weaker military regimes on the continent.

Meanwhile, we can see that Venezuela, which has a democratic government that Washington supposedly likes and where human rights and citizen rights are generally respected, has not obtained much from Washington. Together with Ecuador, Venezuela continues to be included on the U.S. Congress' black list and we are currently witnessing and will soon feel the pinch of a substantial reduction in purchases of our oil by U.S. companies. [paragraph continues]

Although this matter appears to be part of the overall oil glut in the world, it appears strange that the reduction in Venezuela's sales is 649,000 barrels a day, whereas the total reduction in the sales of OPEC countries, including Venezuela, is 5 million barrels a day.

In addition, it is not clear why Venezuela awarded the large Guayana contract to Correia y Camargo and allowed the agency of the Banco do Brasil to be opened, or whether these measures involve any recompense for us.

Rather, this seems to be part of a trend toward recognizing Brazil as a solidly established power in Latin America in view of its enterprise and successes as a nation with foresight. This would confirm the U.S. policy launched by Kissinger.

Venezuela's foreign policy in recent years has had a certain anti-U.S. tinge, further strengthened by the Arab ingredient coming through the OPEC, which led it to abandon its "stated" neutrality in regard to Israel. It so happens that now the largest oil producing countries have reached an understanding with the United States. This year, the last of the present Venezuelan administration, the forces moved by the powers pulling the strings in the world do not seem to be dancing to the beat of Venezuela's wishes. These wishes were previously satisfied by events over which we had no control. We can now see that our wishes had been hanging with pins from the solid body of events and that our authorities had attributed to themselves success which, in effect, they had not scored.

We failed to make provisions to build up our strength or the basic interest relations that could spare us from misfortune. We are now very close to being a leaf drifting in the currents of a powerful river, this time in the wrong direction.

PRESIDENT INTERVIEWED BY MEXICAN PAPER

FL152151Y Mexico City INFORMEX in Spanish to ANSA Buenos Aires 2105 GMT 15 Mar 78 FL

[Text] Mexico City, 15 Mar (ANSA-INFORMEX)--"Mexico will never be a country which opposes OPEC's fundamental interests or conducts competition harmful to the interests of this organization," stated Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez to the Mexican daily UNO MAS UNO. The interview with the Venezuelan chief executive appears on the front page of the newspaper. Perez added: "I cannot say that I believe Mexico will join OPEC. Up to now that country's government has made no statement on this question, but that does not bother us."

The Venezuelan president stated that he gathered these impressions from conversations held with Mexican President Jose Lopez-Portillo.

In regard to the possibility that Mexican petroleum exports could reduce the Venezuelan crude sale capability, Perez stated: "There is not the least danger that new Mexican petroleum discoveries could create disorder on the world petroleum market." On the contrary, he stated that "we are pleased that Mexico has found new sources of petroleum."

Referring to OPEC, the Venezuelan leader stated that he did not believe "that it has weakened or that its democratic character has been lost." Nor did he believe in the dismemberment of the organization, because OPEC "is not controlled by any of the member states."

TV EDITORIAL COMMENTS ON TREATY RESERVATIONS, AMENDMENTS

PA160220Y Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 15 Mar 78 PA

[Editorial]

[Text] Just as he has been doing since the signing of the Torrijos-Carter treaties, the President of the United States has continued with his earnest efforts to obtain the ratification of these documents that comprise many Panamanian aspirations and contribute to definitely erasing the injustice that the Hay-Buneau Varila Treaty brought on our people.

From the transmission of this afternoon's debate in the U.S. Senate and from foreign news agencies reports, it is obvious that there is a strong possibility that, for domestic reasons, President Carter may be compelled to make concessions to the conservative faction in the Senate. Some of these concessions, according to general opinion here, could be unacceptable to Panama if in form and content they go against what was agreed on and signed in the documents under study by the U.S. Senate. Any modification of the treaties, whether considered an amendment or a reservation, would always have to be in line with what has been agreed upon so that it may be accepted by the Panamanian people.

In any event, Panama's position regarding these treaties, which are so important for our country's future and for relations between the United States and the rest of the continent and the world, has been well defined and it remains that way. Within this definition, there is the certainty that our government will continue caring for the highest national interests.

Total responsibility for the final decision on the controversial problem of the treaties lies with the U.S. Government, whose chief, we must admit, has so far made every effort in favor of those treaties as originally drafted.

We Panamanians have fulfilled our share of the responsibility that history assigned to us. It is now up to the North Americans to do their part in the next 24 hours.

LA ESTRELLA CRITICIZES ANTITREATY SENATORS

PA150256Y Panama City LA ESTRELLA in Spanish 14 Mar 78 p 4 PA

[Editorial: "Senate Maneuvers"]

[Text] We do not know, nor can we guess, the true reasons why some U.S. senators are conducting a series of maneuvers aimed at preventing, or at least delaying, ratification of the Torrijos-Carter treaties being discussed by the Senate.

Those senators, who are in a minority, know full well that the president and vice president of the United States; all the top leaders of the Pentagon; most of their fellow senators; the most important sectors of the U.S. press; public opinion in this continent; and several European countries such as Great Britain and France have clearly expressed their opinion on the issue.

The senators who oppose the treaty are also aware that any attempt to prolong the present situation is intolerable and absurd, and greatly damages the image that the United States should establish in international circles if it seeks to impose its views through moral force. The United States could hardly criticize other governments who do not obey basic rules of present-day international law such as the self-determination of peoples, legal equality between states and territorial integrity of nations, if it insists on maintaining a colonial enclave in our country.

Much harm is being done by these senators who seek to prevent the ratification of the treaties, or who try to change their essence through a series of amendments or reservations which can have no positive results. The clear dispositions contained in the treaties negotiated, approved and signed by President Carter and General Torrijos are the most eloquent expression of our patience, tolerance and understanding. Above all, they prove our aim of maintaining cordial relations of friendship and cooperation with the United States on many different levels. That is why we are expecting reciprocity on the part of the United States. This reciprocity is not shown by that group of senators who, without having explained, if there can be any explanation, their motives, insist on their obstructionist tactics.

These circumstances, however, have not altered our opinion that the treaties will be ratified, as they should be, nor our admiration and sympathy for the noble American people. It is nevertheless regrettable to see anyone in such a high position as a U.S. senator being so narrowminded and negative as to not face reality and see our just cause.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS LEAVE PARTY TO RUN IN ELECTIONS

PA151636Y Panama City LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 14 Mar 78 pp 1, 4-A PA

[Text] Luis Emilio Veces and Martin Gonzalez, members of the National Directorate of Christian Democracy, have obtained 6-month leaves of absence from that political group in order to be candidates for seats in the National Assembly of Corregimiento Representatives, in the August elections.

Veces is secretary general and Gonzalez is assistant secretary general of the party. They will be temporarily replaced by Clovis Aleman and Guillermo Cochez Jr.

Christian Democracy issued a communique announcing this yesterday. It indicated that each Christian Democrat has the duty and the right "of choosing the form he believes advisable to fight, reject and repudiate the current regime, including participation as candidate for the office of corregimiento representative."

Veces is currently corregimiento representative for La Chorrera District and is seeking reelection. This is the first time that Gonzalez will be a candidate.

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS EXPLAIN POSITION ON CANDIDACIES

PA151520Y Panama City MATUTINO in Spanish 14 Mar 78 p 1 PA

[Text] Two associations, the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement [MNR] and the 11 October Organization [Triple O] consider it their duty to make the following declaration so as to avoid confusion and misinterpretation.

Both organizations, the MNR and tne Triple O, founded on 31 October 1968, are strictly civic, social, cultural and sports associations, composed of professionals, workers, educators, intellectuals and university, secondary and elementary school students. They are engaged in serving the republic loyally, sincerely and honestly, in defending the Panamanian nationality and in seeing that the governing and governed work to improve socioeconomic and government conditions so that we can fully reaffirm our freedom, independence and sovereignty and obtain our economic and social emancipation which will bring happiness and welfare to all isthmians. Therefore, we are not sponsoring any candidates for the office of corregimiento representative, not even members of our associations.

All our members are free to exercise their rights and duties as citizens to elect and to be elected. Our two civic organizations, with due respect, will continue to abide by our constitution, labor code, electoral law and other legal requirements of the republic, as they have done from the beginning.

God, Fatherland and Revolution!

The Association of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement of the Republic of Panama and the Association of the 11 October Organization of Panama.

[signed] Retired Lt Col Saturnino Florez, president; Tomas Ernesto Diaz Villa, general coordinator, Panama 11 March 1978

COSTA RICA

PRESIDENT-ELECT MEETS WITH INDUSTRIALISTS

PA151940Y Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1656 GMT 15 Mar 78 PA

[Text] San Jose, 15 Mar (ACAN-EFE)--Costa Rican President-elect Rodrigo Carazo Odio last night said that the Central American Common Market cannot continue with a structure conceived 20 years ago to suit the conditions of that time. According to Carazo, its concepts need to be modernized and reorganized. He added that his administration will turn all its efforts toward that objective.

Last night, Carazo visited the Costa Rican Chamber of Industry, talking with its leaders about various subjects of interest for the manufacturing sector. He reiterated that his administration will have a permanent policy of dialog with all sectors so that they will know the rules of the game and there will be no surprises.

Carazo said that he will ask the industrialists and other interested sectors to cooperate in shaping the government's position on the reforms to the Central American integration process.

BRIEFS

EXCELSIOR CLOSURE--EXCELSIOR, a morning daily founded 1,152 days ago, announced today that it would close. The newspaper went bankrupt. [San Jose Cadena de Emisoras Columbia in Spanish 1720 GMT 11 Mar 78 PA] [SERCANO Network]

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM VENEZUELA--Venezuela has granted Costa Rica two new credits in accordance with the Puerto Ordaz oil agreement. The credits, amounting to $4 million and $3.2 million, will be used to finance two hydroelectric projects. [San Jose Cadena de Emisoras Columbia in Spanish 1220 GMT 8 Mar 78 PA] [SERCANO Network]

EL SALVADOR

PRESIDENT TO MEET WITH HONDURAN PRESIDENT BEFORE END OF MARCH

PA152035Y San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 8 Mar 78 pp 3, 28 PA

[Text] The presidents of El Salvador and Honduras, Gen Carlos Humberto Romero and Gen Juan Alberto Melgar Castro, respectively, will hold a meeting before the end of March to continue peace negotiations, the Central American media reported yesterday. It was said that official Honduran sources had confirmed that the meeting would be held at some undisclosed border location. However, they said the date had not been definitely fixed, although one could anticipate that it would certainly be held before the end of the month. The meeting was described by the media as "bilateral and strictly intended to step up peace talks," as an initial step in the activities of the mediator in the conflict, Peruvian jurist Dr Jose Luis Bustamante y Rivero. It was also reported that on this occasion both heads of state would be accompanied by their wives.

The meeting of the chiefs of state, said the sources, was announced by Salvadoran President General Romero to the wife of Melgar Castro during a visit they recently made to the United States. On that occasion, the president of our country agreed that a meeting with the Honduran president together with the presidents' wives would be an act of greater rapprochement and a more sincere search for a fraternal settlement between the two countries, which have been separated since the 1969 war.

It was also reported that the Romero-Melgar Castro meeting could have already taken place, but because the Honduran chief of state had very pressing commitments lately--such as urgent visits to the interior of Honduras--the meeting has been delayed.

PRESIDENCY CORRECTS AP QUOTES ON COFFEE PRICES

PA151527Y San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL in Spanish 1220 GMT 15 Mar 78 PA

[SERCANO Network]

[Text] ASSOCIATED PRESS correspondent Kevin (Kelgan) made an error in quoting President Carlos Humberto Romero to the effect that the Suaves Centrales coffee producers would not place their coffee reserves on the world market until the price reached $180 per quintal. According to the information secretary of the presidency of the republic, the president actually said that the price could go to $180, but because of El Salvador's need to implement economic and social development programs, the desirable and truly remunerative price would be $210 for each 100 pounds. This would not harm the consumer or producer as compared with last year's coffee prices.

GUATEMALA

BOMBINGS CAUSE PROPERTY DAMAGE IN GUATEMALA CITY

PA151905Y Guatemala City Radio Fabulosa Network in Spanish 1720 GMT 15 Mar 78 PA

[SERCANO Network]

[Text] A wave of terrorism has hit Guatemala City. Three terrorist attacks occurred in various points of the capital last night. A bomb explosion caused property damages at the Agroford Company located near the Reformador Tower in Zone 9. Another bomb exploded in the building of the General Association of Farmers (AGA) located on 9th street in Zone 1. The terrorist actions only caused property damages.

The wave of terrorist activity began on Saturday morning when a bomb was placed in the automobile of Deputy Humberto [name indistinct] Laras which was parked behind the national congress. On Sunday morning, another bomb exploded at the Chamber of Commerce headquarters in Zone 1 of the capital. On Monday morning, a grenade was thrown in the Chamber of Industries building in Zone 4. Security forces picked it up and detonated it in a safe area.

So far, those responsible for these actions have not been captured. It is believed that they are persons who are dissatisfied with the results of the recent elections.

HONDURAS

STUDENTS SEIZE UN OFFICES IN TEGUCIGALPA

PA152000Y Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1916 GMT 15 Mar 78 PA

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 15 Mar (ACAN-EFE)--Today, approximately 200 students seized the UN offices in Tegucigalpa to protest "the joint Nicaraguan-Honduran army operation against the Sandinist Front." University and high school students held a rally in front of the UN office building prior to seizing it at 1000. Posters hanging from the walls and ironwork of the UN offices read: "We demand guarantees for the lives of Nicaraguan patriots," and "Solidarity with the Nicaraguan people."

German Espinal, a university leader, told ACAN-EFE that similar events will be held today in the other Central American countries. UN officials and student representatives said that there has been no hostility on either side during the operation.

NICARAGUA

ARTICLE WELCOMES PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

PA152201Y Managua NOVEDADES in Spanish 11 Mar 78 p 10 PA

[Article by J. Gerardo Suarez Lopez: "The New Opening"]

[Excerpts] The partial reform of the present constitution which is being drafted by the Chamber of Deputies to ensure the democratization of an unknown number of political parties has generated heated censure from jurists and opposition politicians, particularly those who maintain religious, plutocratic and aristocratic traditions and those with antiprogressive and status quo reputations. In reality, these partial reforms, announced by the authorized voice of the chief of liberalism during the rally on 26 February, are unpostponable because historic parallels [paralelas historicas] have lost "actuality" and "virtuality" and "because fiction must not be maintained when the people demand realities, since those realities will "dispel the veil of darkness and deceit," because Nicaragua needs to live on the basis of reality and multiple political criteria in order to better establish a true democracy.

The Liberals understand, as their authorized spokesmen have noted, that "the essence of a democracy is for the people to be free to elect those who will represent them, govern them and lead them."

Undoubtedly, the reforms have alarmed the wealthy members of the Conservative Party because they understand that the social advances carried out by the Liberals are a threat to their interests. However, over and above the groups of economic power are the needs of the people, the social reforms which will strengthen the new posture of the people, the workers and the lower classes. It is toward these people that the Liberals are directing their large-scale plans, plans which precisely make use of profressionals at all levels who are instructed and trained in the Liberal school to "proscribe opulence" and ensure that there are fewer poor people and more men with land, and to make the rich less rich and the poor less poor, which will be the new posture of the Liberal and social economy.

The conservative opponents of the constitutional reforms are out of their time and place. However, their position is a direct consequence of their lack of supporters and has an edge of desperation in the face of the unyielding new revolutionary posture which will generate a positive growth of the Nicaraguan masses, their evolution without bloodshed, their progress without pressure, based on a political philosophy that is a doctrine and a reality.

NEWSCAST FINED FOR REPORTING ON PAST STRIKE

PA151813Y Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 1220 GMT 15 Mar 78 PA

[SERCANO Network]

[Text] The Sucesos newscast is subject to further repressive action by the office of the radio director. At 1130 yesterday Col Alberto Luna, national radio and television director, informed the director of Sucesos, which is broadcast from 0600 to 0700 over Radio Corporacion, that he had been fined 1,000 cordobas. Sucesos' crime, according to Luna, was having broadcast true accounts of the past strike which paralyzed a large portion of the country.

Colonel Luna's office wishes at all costs to prevent dissemination of the truth by the information media, thus attacking the Nicaraguan people's right to be informed.

Shortly after Luna had informed Moises Esteban Quisada of the fine, the Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Expression provided the money. Moreover, the committee submitted a note repudiating the lamentable stand against freedom of the press adopted by the famous Colonel Luna.

Quisada will deposit the 1,000 Cordobas today at 1000 at the Ciudad Jardin branch of the National Bank.

UNIVERSITY WANTS INVESTIGATION OF STUDENTS' DEATHS

PA151816Y Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1625 GMT 15 Mar 78 PA

[Text] Managua, 15 Mar (ACAN-EFE)--Authorities of the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua have demanded that an investigation be conducted and that justice prevail in the case of two students who were killed in February in an incident involving a police patrol on the Ruben Dario University campus in this city. The petition was filed yesterday by the deans and Vice Rector Julian Corrales before Col Aquiles Aranda, chief of the legal and public relations office of the National Guard. The university authorities have rejected an official version according to which shots were fired at the police patrols from the Ruben Dario campus, which prompted the officers to fire back.

The Permanent Committee for Human Rights in Nicaragua also filed a complaint yesterday against the police under the command of Col Alesio Gutierrez at the same National Guard legal and public relations office. The denunciation is based on the violent way in which Colonel Gutierrez and his agents several weeks ago dispersed newsmen who had just placed a floral wreath at the spot where Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, managing editor of the local daily LA PRENSA and opposition leader, had been assassinated.

The violence was also brought to the attention of President Anastasio Somoza, who said he had chided the commander of the police because of his overreaction against the newsmen.

CASTRO SPEECH ON 'PROTEST OF BARAGUA' CENTENNIAL

FL152232Z Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2157 GMT 15 Mar 78 FL/PA

[Speech by Cuban Council of State President Fidel Castro marking centennial of Gen Antonio Maceo's "protest of Baragua," held at Julio Antonio Mella municipality, Santiago de Cuba Province--live; also relayed live by Havana television]

[Text] Dear compatriots: As a tribute to the date, let us observe silence. In order to make a profound historic examination of the protest of Baragua, it would be necessary to take a lot of time that we did not have in these past days of great work. That is why we will not attempt to give a lecture here or to make a historic evaluation of those events. We have come here to express our profound recognition, our love and our admiration for that historic event and to express some ideas and impressions of its importance and the circumstances surrounding it.

What kind of day was that 15 March 1878, 100 years ago? It has been said that prior to the conference the morning was foggy. But we believe that in many aspects it must have been similar to today. Perhaps, then there were more mango trees than there are today because of the weather, carelessness or even the encroachment of the large cane plantations established here by foreign monopolies. But, doubtlessly, there was a sun like this one, mountains like the ones we can see in the horizon and men representing our people like the men present here this afternoon. [applause]

A few minutes ago we saw the pioneers who will dramatize the protest of Baragua at the conclusion of this event. They are children from a school of the Mella sugar mill. As we were observing them, some representing the Cubans and others representing the Spaniards, we said to ourselves: At one time those men who wrote such a brilliant page in our fatherland's history were more or less like these children.

Why should the protest of Baragua have such extraordinary significance in the history of our country? What was the protest of Baragua? What is and what will always be the protest of Baragua?

The Cubans had fought heroically for nearly 10 years. It can be said that nowhere on this continent had a nation fought so heroically over that many years and under so difficult conditions for its independence. When the British colonies of North America, which today are the United States, achieved independence, they were given aid by other nations. Even armies from other nations gave them aid in that large territory.

When the Central American and South American nations fought for their independence at the beginning of the last century, they all fought together, beginning their war at a time when the Spanish mainland was occupied by the French Army. They were able to establish states and independent countries while the war was going on. They organized armies and received foreign aid. The conditions under which our people fought in 1868 were quite different. It was a small island without foreign aid, without supplies, except perhaps a few shipments of arms sent by Cuban citizens who resided abroad. It was not a group of nations fighting against Spain; it was just one country, a small island with a population of less than 1.5 million inhabitants. And that people faced one of the biggest military powers of that time without supplies or assistance from anyone. And they continued that war for 10 years. When the struggle began in 1868, there were 13,000 Spanish soldiers in our country while the Cubans never had more than 8,000. By the end of the struggle, the Cuban combatants amounted to barely 4,000 against 100,000 Spanish soldiers.

That struggle did not end with independence. The patriotic movement suffered--we cannot say a defeat--an important setback. The reasons why our people were unable to gain independence under those circumstances could be considered to be many. Perhaps it might be easier now to judge the events. Perhaps it might be easier to play the role of a critic now. It can be seen now, for example, that when the Cubans rebelled they had absolutely no military or political experience. Their organizing of the army and the republic in arms was complex. Perhaps it was the type of organization best suited to those circumstances.

During the war they held a constituent assembly, which was something truly extraordinary and noble. A sort of a republic, a government and a chamber of representatives emerged from that assembly. And perhaps that method of organization was not best suited to organize the war, but in those times it represented the knowledge they possessed and the prevailing ideas. And each one of those men imagined that he was performing his revolutionary and patriotic duty in the best way possible.

A national feeling had not really developed, and it was precisely that 10-year war which contributed to definitively consolidating a national spirit. Much provincialism existed in those days. It was difficult to mobilize forces from one province to another and from one jurisdiction to another. The chiefs of the various armed units in each region many times were something like paladins or caudillos of those combatants. And the patriots faced the realities of strong regionalism, strong provincialism which made military operations difficult.

Political problems emerged. Ambitions arose among some chiefs. Confusion arose among some patriots. And in that way, painful events took place such as the removal of the father of the homeland, Carlos Manuel de Cespedes. And he was not the only one. In 1975 [as heard] military revolts occurred in some regions, such as the one in Laguna de Varona, at the precise moment when Maximo Gomez was invading Las Villas Province and needed reinforcements to continue the military operations. And the effort which the Cuban command made to gather the forces that had to support Maximo Gomez was one of the factors which contributed to the Laguna de Varona revolt in 1975. [as heard] And later on, when the Spaniards, in a last supreme effort, sent powerful contingents of hardened troops to our country to advance from west to east to counteract the invasion of the patriots, painful events took place such as the virtual expulsion of Maximo Gomez from Las Villas territory as a result of the accentuated provincialism of some chiefs in that region.

Furthermore, new military revolts occurred, such as the one in Santa Rita, at the same time when the troops of [Spanish General Arsenio] Martinez Campos and their offensive action were approaching Camaguey Province. That revolt led to shattered discipline and insubordination of entire units and to the desertion by numerous combatants precisely at a time when the enemy, with more forces than ever, was advancing on Camaguey.

Those circumstances began to create a military situation that was truly critical. This time the enemy, with a better understanding of the character, strength, firmness and heroism of the Cubans, did not resort only to force; it also undertook a different policy. Along with the military effort, it implemented measures that were totally different from those which the Spanish military chiefs had applied during almost the entire war.

Our Mambi army lacked an iron discipline and exemplary respect for the commands and the revolutionary principles adopted by these and for the constituted revolutionary government. Those factors weakened our forces significantly at the most criticial moments and facilitated the enemy's plans.

There was demoralization in the Camaguey region which, together with the lack of resources, fatigue and, in some isolated cases, treason created conditions that propitiated what has been called the Zanjon Pact, that is, peace without Cuba's independence. Despite the fact that the patriots had approved a decree establishing the death penalty for all those who talked about peace proposals in the ranks, such conditions were created that even that decree was abolished and contacts were made that led to subsequent steps by virtue of which that agreement was reached. The circumstances were extremely critical, extremely difficult. The truth of the matter is that on 21 December 1877 the Spanish command ordered the cessation of military operations in the Camaguey region and later prolonged that period of cessation until the agreement or Zanjon Pact was agreed upon.

By then the country in reality had no authorities. At the last minute the chamber members resigned and a committee was established, which in early February discussed and agreed to peace without independence, an agreement which was more or less officially reached--because no document was signed--on 10 February 1878.

Meanwhile, what was occurring in Oriente Province? Great revolutionary leaders were being developed in Oriente, just as in other places of the island. The struggle had started in that province.

It can be said that Maximo Gomez was the teacher of great Cuban combatants. Generals as outstanding as Calixto Garcia--who was unable to participate in the war until the end because he was taken prisoner but who even attempted suicide--and many other chiefs were trained here. Among them, Antonio Maceo was among the brightest. [applause] Maceo--a man of very humble origin and, in addition, black at a time when racial discrimination was very strong in our country--because of his virtues, his exemplary behavior, his merits, his courage, his intelligence, under those difficult conditions of his origin and under the circumstances of our society in those days, began to excel, to become known. One of the most extraordinary merits Maceo had was that he never became vain or let ambition take over, or let prejudices govern him. He struggled against the most unbelievable obstacles. He was always characterized as an absolutely loyal, disciplined soldier, respectful of the law, of revolutionary principles, of superior commands and of the legitimately constituted revolutionary authorities.

Never in those 10 years could it be said that Maceo committed even the slightest act of insubordination, despite his candor, sincerity and courage to voice his beliefs and viewpoints, to criticize what was wrong, to support what was just; and much less did Maceo participate but, on the contrary, energetically condemned in harsh terms those seditious acts committed by some military chiefs and for which the revolution paid so high a price, such as the events of Laguna de Varona, the insurrection of Santa Rita, in which he was asked to participate and to which he responded with a historic letter of energetic rejection and condemnation for the participants in those events. [applause]

But this example set by Maceo--that irreproachable behavior in all aspects--became a doctrine, a true school for the Oriente combatants. The chiefs, officers and soldiers of the troops under the command of Antonio Maceo were trained using those principles. Thus, the revolution, in the large part of Oriente where Maceo commanded, continued to be strong, honorable, free of discord, of division, of indiscipline, of insurrections. It must be said that the role of the man, the role played by Maceo under those circumstances, was decisive.

As the storm which was going to liquidate the revolution or which was going to end the revolutionary hopes in that war was approaching, Gomez and Maceo were trying to offset the effect of those events and to find a way to give an adequate response to the military and political campaign undertaken by Martinez Campos. But it was precisely when Gomez and Maceo were together preparing those plans that the battle at Mejias' ranch in Barajaguas took place, during which Maceo was wounded, almost mortally, on 6 August 1877. Maceo survived, under unbelievable conditions, after suffering multiple wounds. Therefore, Maceo first had to survive under incredible conditions and with numerous wounds. His comrades in arms had to save him from capture and, with a small escort, for weeks and weeks they evaded and faced the enemy's efforts to capture General Antonio.

That period of his grave condition and convalescence lasted several months. They were months that were particularly critical during a period when the circumstances that led to the Zanjon Pact were being created.

In the early days of January, several months after that battle, Maceo had recovered his health and was again leading his troops. At that time, however, the eastern patriots had a serious shortage of foods, arms and ammunition. What did Maceo do in those days when a cease-fire had been proclaimed in Camaguey about which he had no knowledge? He devoted himself to the fight and to fighting to get supplies, especially arms and ammunition. And it was precisely in those days, on the eve of Zanjon when a cease-fire already existed in Camaguey and other regions, that Maceo waged some of his most important military actions. He devoted himself to attacking Spanish supply columns, making good use of that principle that, under certain circumstances, revolutionary arms must be taken from the enemy. [applause]

In 15 days his forces destroyed two convoys and two battalions of hardened Spanish troops. Maceo personally participated in and directed the operations--three of which have been recalled much recently. A supply column was advancing from Palma to Florida, and Maceo's forces attacked the Spanish convoy on 29 January in the area between Palma and Victoria, defeated the escort and seized the supplies and ammunition--50,000 rounds--in that convoy. Four days later, 5 days later, in other words, on 4 January...on 4 February, a column of Spanish troops clashed with Maceo's forces.

But the extraordinary thing is that at that time Maceo was not traveling on horseback. It must be said that in those final days of the war the patriotic forces did not even have horses. Some of Maceo's forces had been sent to another point the night before while Maceo remained behind with 38 men. With his 38 men he repelled the attack of the column and surrounded it. It is incredible, truly incredible, that with only 38 men he practically destroyed the Madrid ranger battalion in 1 day [applause] and, according to historic data, killed 270 and took 70 prisoners, almost all wounded. That occurred on 4 February 1878.

Three days later, with the acquired arms, supplies and ammunition, his troops confronted another Spanish battalion that was one of the most experienced and hardened. They surrounded it, fought for more than 3 days and defeated it. It has been said that only 25 men escaped unscathed from that battalion and the rest were killed or wounded. And the few who were able to survive did so because of the reinforcement by a powerful Spanish column which came to the rescue. Maceo and his forces at that time had just defeated the famous San Quintin Battalion [applause], one of the best Spanish units, in the battle called San Ulpiano or Caminos de San Ulpiano.

Thus, in two battles, the Llanadas de San Juan...the one in Llanadas de Juan Mulato and the one in Camino de San Ulpiano, he defeated these two Spanish battalions in less than a week; the first one with 38 men since he had sent most of his troops on another mission, and the other one with more forces. But these were impressive battles and two great defeats for the Spanish.

One can speak of the different battles, and all of them have their importance. There is talk of Palo Seco. It was a great battle. It was a cavalry charge by Maximo Gomez which, like lightning, fell on the Spanish troops and destroyed a battalion. [applause] There is talk of Mal Tiempo during the invasion when a joint machete charge under Gomez and Maceo destroyed a Spanish battalion. I think it was called the Canarias Battalion. In any case, history, at least that which we studied in other times, did not speak enough of those two so important battles of Maceo, of such an extraordinary merit at that time and the circumstances under which they took place.

Now then, the thing which was painful and surprising and deeply hurt Maceo and his forces was the news that as they were completing the battle in Camino de San Ulpiano, the Zanjon Pact had just been signed in Camaguey. Angry and bitter, Maceo asked himself what his men, his comrades and his wounded would say and how could his dead men, the ones he had lost in those battles, could be justified if at that specific moment peace without independence was being promoted. And actually that peace without independence had been made without consulting all the forces, since Maceo's forces, one of the most important units of the revolution, had not been consulted.

Those were the factors that determined the behavior, attitude and gesture that led to one of the most extraordinary patriotic feats of our wars of independence, of our revolutionary combatants, which was the protest of Baragua. [applause] Maceo and his eastern forces simply did not accept peace without independence. [applause] As soon as he learned about it, as soon as he was informed on the agreement or Zanjon Pact--information he was given by a commission that arrived after everything had been done.... He was informed by two commissioners and a Cuban patriot, one of the greatest patriots, Maximo Gomez, who was not participating in the commission [applause] but, due to the circumstances and having decided to leave the country, made a stop in Oriente first and paid a visit to Maceo to say farewell. There always was great love, admiration and respect between Gomez and Maceo. Maximo Gomez was Maceo's teacher and Maceo was his most brilliant pupil.

It was a dramatic interview during which Maximo Gomez said he was absolutely convinced that the war could not be continued because of all the factors that had arisen, and Maceo said he was determined to continue the war. Maceo wanted Gomez to stay. He even asked him if he was going to leave him alone under those circumstances. Both were men of profound convictions. Maceo had his and Gomez had his and also great experience. He was the most experienced Cuban military chief. He was convinced that the conditions for continuing the war were lacking. He bade him farewell and left the country.

Maceo adopted the pertinent measures, met with his chiefs, asked for their opinions and formally decided to express his disagreement with the Zanjon Pact. Some of you might ask yourselves: If Maceo wanted to continue the war, why did he have to meet with Martinez Campos and tell him that he did not agree with the peace? There was a very important reason for that. In the same manner that it was officially agreed to stop the war at Zanjon on behalf of those bearing arms, Maceo wanted to express unquestionably and officially his disagreement with the Zanjon Pact before the Spanish chief and authorities. [applause]

Gomez explained that Maceo had other intentions, that he wanted to gain time under those difficult conditions. Maceo had told him that with time a lot of things could be done. Gomez even advised him to ask for a cease-fire for the maximum possible time to reorganize his troops. It is then that Maceo wrote the letter to Martinez Campos, on 21 February, a very intelligent and revolutionary letter which we could even call very loyal. In it he proposed a cease-fire for 4 months because he wanted to conduct consultations with all districts of the jurisdiction of Cuba, as it was called then. He told him he wanted to hold talks to learn what peace without independence represented for Cuba, what the advantages were. But in his letter he told Martinez Campos that he did not want to reach any agreement, that is, he warned him. He told him that he wanted to meet but would not reach any agreement. We want you to explain to us what advantages Cuba will gain with peace without independence, he wrote in his letter.

Maceo did two things: He tried to gain time and, the most important thing, he wanted to express officially to the Spanish general in chief with whom the Zanjon Pact was reached that he was in disagreement with that pact and that he proposed to continue the struggle. [applause] The essential part of the problem is that Maceo did not agree in the least, not for a single minute, with the contents of the Zanjon Pact. Maceo was not in agreement and did not waver a single second in rejecting the peace without independence.

His objective was to reject the Zanjon Pact and to continue the war. That is why he summoned the enemy chief. That is very clear when the historic events leading to the glorious protest of Baragua are read in the history books. Maceo met with Martinez Campos but not to reach agreement on anything, because nothing was agreed to there. If anything was agreed to in Baragua, it was to begin hostilities 8 days later and to continue the war. [applause]

He began the meeting by telling him that he was in disagreement with what was agreed to at Zanjon. In the presence of his closest comrades, he told him that what they wanted was independence. Martinez Campos responded that, if he had known that they wanted a meeting to ask for the impossible, he would not have agreed to meet. Throughout all this there is a very valuable thing. One of Maceo's aides asked Martinez Campos that, if they could not grant independence, could they free the slaves.

In other words, what the Cubans proposed with the protest of Baragua was an initial objective. They first wanted to make their disagreement official and break the pact--that was the No 1 political objective--and then to tell them that they were breaking the pact because they did not accept peace without independence. But they probed the Spaniards and asked them: Since you say that you cannot grant independence, why do you not commit yourselves to grant liberty to the slaves? In other words, the two great demands in the protest of Baragua were independence for Cuba and, as a last resort, if there were no independence for Cuba, let there be liberty for the slaves. [applause]

The Zanjon Pact provided for the liberty of African slaves and Asian settlers who at that time were serving in the ranks of the liberation army. However, many of the slaves and Asian settlers who had participated in the ranks of the liberation army had died in combat and very few remained, while in the western part of the country--I cannot give exact figures now--I estimate that there were still hundreds of thousands of slaves in 1978 [as heard], perhaps 150,000, perhaps 200,000, perhaps 250,000 slaves. And this is very important since the Zanjon Pact not only called for independence [as heard] but also, at the last minute, at least the liberty of slaves or we would continue fighting. This gives it a magnitude which may not have been stressed in the past by the bourgeoisie, who limited themselves only to the point of independence, because slavery was the most important social problem and the liberation an end to slavery, was one of the more just demands of the revolutionaries in arms from a social viewpoint.

That is why there was a beautiful path from the moment in which Carlos Manuel de Cespedes liberated the slaves to the moment when Maceo proposed to Martinez Campos in Baragua the liberty of slaves as the minimum condition for peace in our country. [applause]

That is the essence of the protest of Baragua. Maceo and the Cubans proposed to continue the war, and in fact, they agreed to end...to start hostilities on 23 March. They still hoped to maintain the banners of independence and the war high. However, they faced demoralization that had spread among many forces--the forces in Tunas and Bayamo. There were serious problems in Holguin and Manzanillo. Peace had been agreed upon in the center, in Camaguey, and peace had been agreed upon in Las Villas except for a group of courageous men who continued fighting.

Martinez Campos was able to concentrate all his efforts in the region where Maceo's troops were operating. He continued to following an intelligent policy and, according to history, when hostilities started on the 23d and the Cubans confronted the first Spanish forces and opened fire, the Spanish troops did not fire back. It was an unusual event. They shouted: Long live Cuba, long live peace. It was even reported that some columns saw men fall dead or wounded but still did not fire back. It was a political attempt by Martinez Capos to weaken morale and achieve peace by weakening that force [of Cubans].

There is no doubt that in general under the circumstances that policy softened many combatants. But the essential thing was that the Spanish Army was entirely concentrated against the Cuban troops. To this was added the big drain of those forces and their lack of resources. And this was how, despite the heroic decision, Maceo and his troops found it impossible to carry on the war for a long time. They fought and used up their ammunition and, ultimately, the members of the new revolutionary government, not Maceo, anguished by the idea that Maceo could lose his live in that struggle and that the great value and importance which that life would have in the future for continuing the struggle [would be lost], skillfully decided to assign him a mission abroad in order to save his life--to raise funds and combatants in order to continue the struggle.

Therefore, Maceo left without reaching a pact with the Spaniards, without reaching a peace pact. He went abroad still at war with the Spaniards. Logically, the Spaniards preferred that he be able to leave. It was better for them if Maceo did not make peace with them. With entire freedom and loyalty and without having to renounce any commitment, he reserved the right to continue the war for the liberation of our fatherland. It really must be said that he left our people a gigantic and infinite legacy with that attitude.

Our press has reported on all these events in recent days. It has been said that Marti declared that Baragua was the most glorious thing. Marti did not say that. He said what appears on that poster: The protest of Baragua is one of the most glorious events in our history. [applause] He could not absolutely say that it was the most glorious because many glorious events had taken place. And who can doubt that 10 October 1868 was an extraordinarily glorious event? [applause]

And the question is not one of comparing some glorious events with others [applause], some dates with other dates. Had there not been a 10 October, there would not have been a 15 March; without Yara there would have been no Baragua. Without Baragua, however, Yara would not have been Yara. [applause]

Indeed, what can be asserted is that our people's patriotic and revolutionary spirit reached its peak, its climax, its summit with the protest of Baragua, that the flags of the fatherland and the revolution--of the true revolution--with independence and social justice, were placed at their highest place.

It is not easy to analyze history. It is not easy to make historical judgments. There is talk of whether it was or was not possible to continue the war, of whether the war could have continued with El Zanjon. It is hard to answer that question. One would have to go back much further to see if Cubans could or could not have won the 1868 war, because the war began to be lost not on that 10 February, not 2 or 3 months before El Zanjon. The war began to be lost years before El Zanjon. The war did not reach its full development because the pattern of organization was not the most perfect. Marti mused a great deal about this in subsequent years in order to give the new war the most appropriate organization that would lead it to victory, drawing from the experience of the big war of 1868-1878.

The war began to be lost perhaps with Cespedes' dismissal and the problems and divisions which were created. The war began to be lost at Lagunas de Varona. The war began to be lost or continued to be lost at Santa Rita. The war was lost because of the numerous acts of regionalism and insubordination. The war was lost because of the lack of support for Maximo Gomez's invasion toward the west. The war was lost due to a number of factors.

Could that war have been won? Theoretically, that war could have been won. However, it is one thing to view problems theoretically and another to see how problems are worked out among men. Theory is one thing and practice is another. Facts are something else. And what theory did our patriots know when they began their war in 1868? What scientific principles, which are clear today? What military techniques, which only struggle itself and the hard tests of experience and meditation on historical facts can teach us? Those patriots carried on their efforts with utmost good faith in the world, based on their experiences and the political and military ideas prevailing at that time. Had this and that and the other--who knows how many other things--not happened, the war would have been won. Could the struggle have been continued had the pact of El Zanjon not been concluded? Perhaps it could have been continued, perhaps, but who would dare assert this with full authority?

Today, any one of us may think that had he lived under those circumstances he would have continued the struggle. Today we are here with all of these experiences, with this new culture, with all this knowledge that three men can resist. We defend the principle that as long as there is a man with a rifle nobody must surrender. [applause]

We uphold the principle that as long as there is a man with a rifle a war has not been lost. However, it is we, now, we who have received such a historical heritage, such vast experience, culture, philosophy, a number of principles, and it is we who can now proclaim them--not only that, but can even carry them out. However, can we compare the behavior of those men with ours? We cannot and have no moral right to do so. For this reason, we cannot feel superior to them in any sense.

Conditions were extremely difficult when Zanjon took place, in every sense. Those Cuban troops had no supplies of any kind. For 5 years no expedition had arrived from the outside. Those Cuban troops had no clothes, shoes, food, arms or ammunition. They did not even have any horses left. When the calvary paraded here I recalled that in those days at Baragua Maceo already had no horse. For months Maceo's troops had no horses. They went on foot. At Camaguey, where at the beginning of the 1868 war there were over 350,000 head of cattle, nothing was left. There were no cattle, horses, nothing.

If one asks one of today's, today's revolutionaries, as a son of this revolution, if one could and should have continued to fight under those conditions, he will logically say yes and that is correct, that is correct. [applause] However, today's revolutionary has a different education, different principles, a different spiritual, patriotic heritage. However, think of those men. Many of them were illiterate; many were illiterate. Under those circumstances, under those conditions.

That is why we must be very careful when we make these historical analyses. One must think that many of the men who thought so at that moment were great patriots. An example: Maximo Gomez.

Maximo Gomez is in no way responsible for what happened at Zanjon, not at all. It could even be said that he had nothing to do with Zanjon. We could say that he was a victim of mistakes made during the war and a victim of Zanjon. But he reached the conclusion that fighting could not continue under such important circumstances. Several persons reproached him for not having prevented it, but what happended, unfortunately, was that all his life Maximo Gomez lived under the complex of being a foreigner, the complex of not having been born here [applause] when he should have felt 100 percent and 1,000 percent Cuban from the very first day he took up a weapon on behalf of Cuba's independence. He fought for 10 years and was the most brilliant leader and teacher of the other Cuban leader.

Yet, at the time of Zanjon, he regarded himself as a Dominican. He felt he did not have the right to interfere in the affairs of Cubans and that it was the Cubans who had to decide on that matter. Not only that, as late as in 95, when the intervened [mediatizada] republic was finally born and the flag could at last be hoisted and we could say we were an independent country--all of us know today that we were not--even in those circumstances, Maximo Gomez was still laboring under the complex of being a foreigner. And yet, what man did as much for our country as Maximo Gomez, and alongside Maximo Gomez, dozens, hundreds, thousands of combatants who later had an extraordinary performance in the war of '95 to further the independence struggle?

So we must be very careful when exalting the Baragua protest and stressing its full value and extraordinary magnitude. We must take care. We must be careful and objective in our judgements of those Cubans who in those unfortunate circumstances did not have Maceo's vision, spirit, depth, shrewdness or genius. I feel that this is correct and necessary and that it will be done because the new generations, which are better prepared and more cultured, will analyze all of our historic problems with the utmost thoroughness.

Now let us be careful when evaluating those men morally. Let us evaluate history, but let us first doff our hats when evaluating the history of our patriots. [applause] Theory is one thing and practice amid the realities of life another. We must remember that the peoples and men who make history do not have a little book on hand which they can follow. Today, politics is more scientific in every sense, thanks precisely to Marx, Engels and Lenin. [applause] We have been taught many things, many truths and many scientific laws by which we can guide ourselves. As we have explained on several previous occasions, our generation has already had the privilege of being able to rely on these laws and on all the experiences, on all the enormous experiences of our fatherland's history. This is important.

When researching history we must be as objective and as honest and sincere as necessary. We must be objective, not subjective. We must not analyze the men of those days in accordance with today's standards and principles. We must be wary of adjectives. Some learned person may say that Maximo Gomez was a traitor because he is judging Maximo Gomez at Zanjon and by all those things, without considering the objective realities of who Maximo Gomez was and what he represented.

When Maximo Gomez left Camaguey and arrived in Jamaica, he was received as almost a traitor. By whom? By the Cuban immigrants, those who were not in Camaguey but in Jamaica. It must be said that Maximo Gomez and his family went hungry in Jamaica and that he had to work for his food and for his 10 cents. Of course, in those days 10 cents was a bit more than today, but Maximo Gomez had to work for himself and his family for 10 cents. But not [only] Maximo Gomez; when Maceo arrived in Jamaica, they received him in almost the same way because Maceo had left on a Spanish ship. Well, Maceo could not swim all the way to Jamaica. That was out of the question. Maceo did what he had to do, all that he had to do. He went on a mission and could leave only under those circumstances--taking advantage of the fact that the ship was going to Jamaica. It was just like Lenin did before the Bolshevik revolution. Acting with the audacity and boldness that characterized him, Lenin took a German train into the Soviet Union. [applause] But the counterrevolutionaries and the reactionaries later used this to attack Lenin. And many people who had migrated received the patriots, both Maximo Gomez and Maceo, in that spirit.

This is why we must not act like some sort of historic migration. The problems of those days are now being judged in accordance with today's standards and ideas. We are totally in favor of having our country's history researched, analyzed and studied scientifically. But let us not act with the spirit of immigrants when judging the men of those days. Let us be careful in analyzing both the objective and subjective factors and let us not pass judgment on any of those men in accordance with today's standards and subjective factors.

For our generation, the one present here--more or less young and more mature--it was a great privilege, great good fortune, a great chance to have had examples such as the one we are commemorating today, because we must say that our generation received the heritage and the spirit of all that those generations did--the heritage of Cespedes and Yara; the heritage of Agramonte, Calixto Garcia, and Maximo Gomez; the heritage of Maceo; the heritage of this singular and extraordinary event which was the Baragua protest; the heritage of our independence struggles and the experience of all the previous generations. All that and the Baragua protest were very much in the minds of the revolutionary combatants of our day--the idea of not surrendering, the idea of not admitting defeat ever. All that was very much in our minds. We had our serious setbacks; we had them at Moncada, but we never admitted defeat. The Moncada combatants never admitted defeat, never accepted defeat. [applause] That was the spirit of the Baragua protest.

No combatant ever humiliated himself in jail or ever accepted defeat with the spirit of Baragua. There were many, very many setbacks after the Granma landing. They may have seemed insurmountable, but nobody gave up. Those who survived decided to continue the struggle. [applause] It was the spirit of Baragua.

Of course, when we, a handful of men, were left it could also have been asked whether it was possible to pursue the struggle. Perhaps in theory, mind you, a scholar, a great scholar would have reached the conclusion that the struggle could not be pursued. Now then, we were not great scholars. We were fighting men and we were convinced that the struggle could continue. We continued the struggle and we won a victory. [applause]

Now then, those times could not be compared with the times of Zanjon. Others may draw the conclusion that if they pursue the struggle they will win a victory anyway. I would not dare say that. I do not dare say that. I would dare to say that any one of you and any one of us would continue and would die with no regret [applause] because it is known that others will follow those who fall. And because as Mella used to say, even dead we are useful because we can serve as banners. [applause]

When only a handful of us were left, there were enormous potential and material forces among the people. We were setting out and it is not the same thing to begin to light a huge blaze as to try to kindle the ashes of a fire. [applause] At the time of Zanjon, what was left in our country was the ash of a huge fire. In '68 all forces were potential forces, both manpower and material forces. That is why, no matter what later experiences were like, in order to be just, we must respect the efforts that those men made because I honestly believe that 10 years under the circumstances in which the Cubans fought is no simple or easy task.

We spent 25 months; they spent 120 months fighting. [applause] There are similarities between our struggle and their struggle in the sense that we were not receiving weapons from abroad either. We, too, were fighting to take rifles, bullets, ammunition and everything else from the enemy. However, in 25 months when the hardest days of the outset [were over], when we had been in the hills for 6 or 7 months or a little longer and we still had some strength, we no longer went hungry because there were many herds of cattle throughout the plains around the Sierra Maestra. We not only supplied ourselves but we also supplied all the civilian population blocked off in the Sierra Maestra, using the herds of cattle in the vicinity. [applause] There were some cattle.

I suppose the same thing happened on the Cuban plains in Camaguey, in Las Villas, in all those areas when the war started. At the end there was nothing left.

Another very hard problem was that the Cubans were out in the field with their families--their parents, their women and children. And the Spaniards, using various types of force, were razing and burning homes, killing, raping women, killing children, parents and everyone else. The Cubans who were waging that war along with their families were not only risking their lives but along with their own they were also risking the lives of all their closest and most intimate relatives.

Those were the circumstances--without food or anything else, with the family risking death. And their families risked death for 10 years, because many of the children of the military chiefs were born in the Manigua and those men deserve a very great historic tribute; they made a very great sacrifice.

Today's generation is a privileged generation which inherited the effort, the experience, the toil of all the preceding generations from '68 until now, going through the war of independence and the years of the intervened republic, the neocolonized republic which were also very difficult. That is why it is a privileged generation but also a generation which has very big responsibilities, because it has to continue building this history and has to continue advancing along this revolution course for the benefit of the coming generations.

Today we know what our people are and stand for and what their moral values are, because a homeland, a revolution, a revolutionary conscientiousness, socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism are moral values, revolutionary awareness (?in itself). [applause] It was not created in a single day; it was created and developed over more than 100 years.

There was also a sort of internationalism in our war of independence because there were many Dominicans and nationals of other countries who came here to fight on our side. Today we have mentioned one of the most outstanding among them. His name is Maximo Gomez. During our revolutionary war, when we still faced only national problems, when internationalist issues had not been posed, we had Che, who was another illustrious and most outstanding international, internationalist combatant. [applause]

Now we have this immense treasure, this extraordinary legacy which permits our people to be what they are today and of which they are justly proud. [applause]

This centennial has coincided with many things. It coincided with 5 March, the date of the foundation of the Third Front; with 11 March, the date of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Second Front [applause]; and many other 20th anniversaries will be commemorated this year. That is to say, they are even, the centennial with the 20th anniversaries. When the protest of Baragua has its 110th anniversary, the Third and Second fronts will also commemorate their 30th anniversaries. They go by 10's. [applause] When the 25th anniversary of Moncada occurs, it will be the 125th anniversary of Marti's birth. They, too, are even--from 5 to 5, from 10 to 10, and from 100 to 100, as if the numbers wanted to express with their symbolism the close relationship between these events.

But there is a special flower, a wreath, a tribute to this centennial of the glorious Gen Antonio Maceo. It is the successful fulfillment of the internationalist mission of Cuba in Ethiopia [applause], which is like a great homage paid by his children to General Antonio.

When our Politburo made the decision to offer the fraternal people of Ethiopia indispensable cooperation and help to assist the heroic Ethiopian people in saving their integrity, independence and revolution [applause], it decided to give this mission the name "protest of Baragua." [applause]

We have broached this subject. Our people yesterday had the opportunity of receiving a most extensive report on the way developments evolved which led to the great victory of the Ethiopian revolution on the eastern front.

Ethiopia seems very far away, but in today's world there are no long distances. Sometimes there are distances in time and others in space. Here we see the distance of time, 100 years after the Baragua protest. One hundred years have passed and here we are. What has time been but the multiplying factor of the heroism and glory of 100 years ago? [applause] And here we feel as close to Maceo and his glory and his achievements as if the Baragua protest had been yesterday. It does not seem to us that 100 years have passed, because here today, at this instant, this second, the protest of Baragua lives on. [applause]

In the same way, physical space is no longer anything for our revolution. We feel as close, as near, as brothers of the Ethiopian revolutionaries as if they were here, beside us, in front of us, beside Maceo, in front of Maceo. [applause] For the revolutionaries of the world, distance, in effect, no longer exists.

As I said, extensive information was released yesterday. It is good to explain what has been traditional in our revolutionary process: fidelity to the facts and the truth. Each citizen who read the news yesterday knew that there was not a hint of a lie in that information, because this has always been our policy since our struggles in the Sierra Maestra and during these almost 20 years--truth, confidence in the people, information for the people. The revolution works with the masses in the most complete identification with the masses and the truth. For that reason, not a single citizen had a shade of doubt that what GRANMA said yesterday was the truth and only the truth. [applause]

I say this because some imperialist news agencies have said that the Cuban people heard yesterday officially that we had given internationalist aid to Ethiopia. Well, if they mean officially, yes, we admit it. But unofficially--and since we know things and the way we do things and know how to do things, among ourselves--all our people knew it long ago. [applause]

The same thing occurred with the internationalist aid given to Angola. The people know these things. How would we do things if not with the people? Of course, there are certain circumstances in which certain things should not be published officially. If you have to carry out an operation which is complicated and dangerous, you simply have to be discreet. You cannot shout it high and low. But who if not the workers and peasants of our reserves, the officers and soldiers of our permanent forces fulfilled this mission? And it was known [applause] by all combat units, by all reserve units. As with Angola, there were not 1,000 or 10,000; there were hundreds of thousands of fellow Cubans ready to fulfill that internationalist mission. [applause]

We never do anything behind the people's backs. Often through party channels and mass organizations, the masses are informed of many things which are not published on the front page of the newspaper. What could the party and its leadership do without the masses? But we are very happy to know that we have very discreet masses. [applause] Because here a secret is known by millions of people and no one else, just these millions of Cubans who know the secret. [applause] This is the revolution; this is the spirit of our people; this is the heritage of Maceo and the Baragua protest; this is the spirit of '68 and '95 now present here with our people.

We do not speak of our past heroes as if we were just tourists through history. We are not just passive observers of feats done by others. Our people can talk about those heroes because we have heroes of our own. [applause]

We can talk about our brave Mambises because we are a people of Mambises. We can talk about our past heroes because we are today a heroic people [applause] who do their duty without boasting. Our revolution does not seek glory or prestige; it simply abides by its ideals and internationalist principles. [applause]

Naturally, we could not talk publicly about our internationalist aid to Ethiopia until the Ethiopians spoke about it. As long as the Ethiopians believed that it was best to be discreet, we were discreet. When the Ethiopians mentioned it publicly, our party, too, was ready to talk of it publicly. It was not going to be a secret among millions of persons forever. It was not going to be a national and international secret.

We must not boast. Nothing could be farther from our intention than to boast about this. In the first place, we must say we deeply regret that the conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia happened. We did everything possible to prevent this conflict. About a year ago, approximately in the same period--maybe after 20 March, I do not recall exactly--we called a meeting in Aden with the leaders of Ethiopia, Yemen and Somalia to solve pending problems between Somalia and Ethiopia, precisely, to prevent a war, to prevent an act which was treason to the international revolutionary movement, to prevent the Somali Government from passing into the hands of imperialism. It could not be prevented.

There were two factions in Somalia, the left and the right. For many years they spoke of socialism and progress for the masses, but in fact, within the government was a powerful reactionary rightist group in favor of an alliance with imperialism, the Arab reactionaries, Saudi Arabia, Iran and others. The leftist forces in the country were cornered. The reactionaries, as usual, flew the flag of chauvinism, because, lacking social, political and revolutionary doctrines, they appealed to the base instincts of the masses and mainly to chauvinism.

History is full of similar cases. In Italy there was fascism. In Germany there was the appeal to racial prejudice. Instead of fighting racial prejudice, as the revolution does, fascism exalts prejudice and turns it into hatred. This was what the fascists did in Hitler's Germany. In the name of chauvinism, nationalism, territorial ambitions, they occupied Europe and invaded the USSR. Tell us, what was a German soldier doing in Stalingrad 1,500 km deep in Soviet territory? How can men be carried away by such madness? It can be done simply by using nationalism, chauvinism, hatred between nations and territorial ambitions. Reactionaries of all times have used these practices. The rightist faction in the Somali Government also waved these flags of national hatred, chauvinism, territorial demands and the concept of greater Somalia made up of Djibouti, a third of Ethiopia and part of Kenya.

All the African states, with practical sense and great wisdom, agreed to respect the borders established by colonialism. Those who know Africa are aware that in every African country are tribes living on both sides of the borders. This is true in all African countries. There are many African states which have not yet overcome the tribal stage. The precedent that a country could seize by force a territory it claimed would create a catastrophe for all of Africa. This is why all the African states say that there must be no border changes and much less use of force to change the borders.

But it was not merely a matter of chauvinism. Ethiopia lived for many years under a feudal system, a system which was liquidated by the Ethiopian revolution. Ethiopia is a country with an 85 to 90 percent peasant population. In Ethiopia prior to the revolution, up to the year 1973, there was even slavery. Whoever was not a serf, whoever was not a peasant tied to the land and subjected to the landowners, could have even been a slave. Therefore, the Ethiopian revolution meant a great change for the Ethiopian people. It liberated millions and millions of exploited peasants.

Ethiopia does not have a very large working class, but it was liberated by the revolution. Women who were treated with oppression and injustice were also liberated by the Ethiopian revolution. The Ethiopian revolution not only liquidated feudalism but made the decision to advance toward socialism. [applause]

One of the most important events to take place in Africa in the past few years has been the Ethiopian revolution. Ethiopia is a country that has suffered. It was one of the few countries of Africa that for centuries was able to maintain its independence until the fascist Italians, who wanted to have colonies by any means, with the complicity of European colonialist powers, invaded Ethiopia. However, Ethiopia is a country of fighters. At the end of the last century, they defeated the Italians, who were unable to seize the country. But in 1935 Italian fascism, thanks to technical superiority, the use of many means and the complicity of imperialism, did seize Ethiopia.

The Ethiopians fought hard during the occupation years. One of the characteristics of the Ethiopian people is their courage, their combativeness.

Under these circumstances and at the precise moment when the revolution took place--rather, when the most radical and most revolutionary people seized power--the Somali aggression took place. Prior to this, when Ethiopia had its emperor, Ethiopia was an ally of the United States, an ally of imperialism. During those years, reaction--the Somali rightist faction--did not think about invading Ethiopia. Why? Because they did not want trouble with imperialism. They also did not dare attack Ethiopia when the revolution first took place but had not clearly defined itself. But when, in March of last year, the most radical, most important and most revolutionary elements of Ethiopia led by Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam assumed the leadership of the Ethiopian revolution and stated their purpose of building socialism, Ethiopia and imperialism broke relations. This is precisely the moment when the rightist faction of the Somali Government thought that the time had come for invading Ethiopia. They knew that at that moment an invasion of Ethiopia meant cooperating with imperialism in the destruction of a great revolution, and imperialism was pleased. They knew that the NATO forces would be very pleased with Somalia's helping to eliminate the Ethiopian revolution.

Today we realize perfectly that, when we met in March of last year in Aden with the leaders of Somalia, they had already elaborated the plan they later carried out, the plan to invade Ethiopia, because they thought that that was the historic opportunity when Yankee imperialism and the NATO countries would receive with open arms the news of the invasion of Ethiopia and that the reactiorary Arab countries--you know that there are many revolutionary Arab countries and that there is a group of reactionary Arab countries--would be very pleased with the invasion of Ethiopia to destroy its revolution. One of those countries, which is governed by an ancient monarchy, Saudi Arabia, is one of those most interested in destroying the Ethiopian revolution. Why? Because of the old saying: If you see your neighbor's beard on fire, soak yours in water. And since an emperor fell, the emperor of Saudi Arabia, or the king--whatever he is called--was very concerned with the fall of the Ethiopian emperor. The same is true for Iran, a reactionary ally of Yankee imperialism, a criminal and repressive government also governed by a shah. Shah means king or emperor. What do I know about what it means? Let us say that it is a feudal monarchy, an absolute monarchy. They decided to destroy the Ethiopian revolution and they encouraged Somalia to attack.

The rightist faction, considering all these opportunities and filled with hopes of receiving lots of petrodollars from Saudi Arabia and Iran as well as economic aid from NATO and the United States, and taking advantage of the fact that there was a revolution going on in Ethiopia, initiated a policy of war and aggression. This is the big crime of the Somali leadership: to invade Ethiopia in order to destroy a revolution and to place itself in the service of the reactionary countries of NATO and imperialism.

During the Aden meeting, however, the Somali leaders solemnly committed themselves, swearing that they would never invade Ethiopia, that they would never carry out a military attack against Ethiopia. In reality they had everything planned and in July they carried out the invasion. However, Ethiopia is a big country with a large population and it has soldiers, very good soldiers. This is why at the beginning we decided, at their request, to send them some dozens of instructors and advisers--perhaps a few hundred--to train their units and to show them how to operate their modern weapons because, since the emperor was an ally of the United States, they had U.S. weapons and now they were receiving socialist supplies with which they had no experience. We thought it would be only a matter of time to help them train their army. When the Ethiopian Army is trained and well armed, no one will be able to meddle with it. You can be sure of that; no one. [applause]

What determined the need to send fighters? The Somali aggression. Somalia had been preparing itself for a number of years. Somalia had even hoisted the socialist flag. It was presenting itself as a progressive country, as an ally of the progressive world. I am referring to the Somali Government. This government had been creating an army. It had hundreds of tanks, artillery pieces, airplanes and many mobile artillery units. At the proper moment it used all these weapons in the invasion of Ethiopia.

At that moment Ethiopia had to struggle in many parts of its territory against many groups of counterrevolutionary bandits led by the feudalists with aid from abroad and by secessionist movements in the country's north, which also presently receive the help of the reactionary countries in the region. They created a very difficult situation for Ethiopia. Time was short. If the Ethiopians had had sufficient time, they could have received and assimilated all the armaments, all the tanks and artillery. They could have received and assimilated all this modern armament. We, together with other socialist countries, would have cooperated to train this personnel. But the invasion created a very difficult situation and resulted in the urgent request by the Ethiopian Government that we send specialists in tanks, artillery and aviation to help them save their country. This is what we did.

And our specialists, as GRANMA has explained, began to arrive in Ethiopia in mid-December and at the beginning of January. These were specialists in tanks, artillery and aviation because, under the circumstances, the Ethiopians did not have time to assimilate the technology. They really did not need troops; they have a lot of infantry troops.

If we sent some Cuban infantry units at battalion level to the east, it was a matter of guaranteeing cooperation with the tank and artillery units operated by Cuban personnel. The reason was the language problem. At a certain moment, a tank unit needs assured cooperation with assured communications. But actually our fundamental support to Ethiopia was specialists. They also have their artillery and tank units, and I do not doubt that in a period time they will have magnificent cadres for the operating of those arms.

They have a lot of soldiers, and it is easier to train an infantry soldier than a tank or artillery specialist. We can also say that the Ethiopian infantry consists of soldiers of great fighting qualities--very aggressive, very brave.

That cooperation was indispensable. We sent our specialists, and as GRANMA said, in the final phase of the operations, Cuban armored infantry units participated together with the Ethiopian infantry. [applause]

With this we are not giving explanations to imperialism or anything like that but telling you how things happened. It should be said, as was published yesterday, that in 7 weeks virtually the entire territory of Ogaden was liberated. It comprises almost 320,000 square km. The invaders [applause] had occupied 320,000 square km, a stretch of land three times the size of Cuba. From 22 January to 14 March, practically all that territory was liberated. There were some pockets of resistance, but their elimination was only a matter of time since the Ethiopian forces did not have enough motorized vehicles and they have had to go on foot to many of those places. Consequently, the war on the eastern front is practically over.

Actually, the cooperation between the Ethiopians and the Cubans was magnificent. There were artillery units composed of Cuban specialists and Ethiopian personnel. In a matter of days, through signs and numbers, they understood each other and the artillery group operated perfectly well. Despite the language differences, there was a good atmosphere, a good, fraternal fighting spirit, much mutual trust, a great fraternity, and problems were solved quite well.

I repeat: We do not want to say things which may appear to be boasting, to be praise of our fighters, but we do think that it is right to say that the Cuban internationalist fighters were characterized by extraordinary effectiveness and magnificent combat qualities. [applause] It is admirable how the sons of our people were able to march to such a far-off place and fight there as if they had been fighting in their own country. That is proletarian internationalism [applause], efficient and brave.

They quickly made a magnificent friendship and created close bonds with the admirable revolutionary fighters of Ethiopia. They were received with extraordinary warmth by the Ethiopian people. And I know that their leaders are very grateful to our people for this help.

The war is over. Ethiopia has publicly declared that it will not cross Somali borders. That seems to us very fair and correct, since the war was not waged to invade another country, much less to occupy another's territory. The war was a defensive war, absolutely just, to defend the land invaded by foreign aggressors until the aggressors were expelled from the territory. Naturally, this presupposes that there will be no repetition of aggression against Ethiopia from Somalia, because it seems to us that no nation would be willing to indefinitely endure being attacked from the borders of another country without adequately responding. But we know perfectly well the sincerity with which the Ethiopian Government gave guarantees that its troops will not cross the Somali border. Actually, from a military viewpoint, this is not necessary at present since the aggressor forces have been routed. We fully support this position adopted by the Ethiopian Government.

What will happen in Somalia? It cannot be predicted. But there is no doubt that the rightist faction which imposed its aggressive and adventuresome line upon the Somali Government has suffered a great defeat.

Naturally, the imperialists are trying to encourage this faction, even in this hour of defeat, and are maneuvering. But there are also progressive, leftist forces in Somalia. Let us wait for the coming weeks to see what happens. Of course, this is totally up to the Somalis and is not a problem which concerns us or any other country.

The imperialists have maintained a very hypocritical attitude throughout the conflict. They knew from the beginning, in July, that Somalia was invading Ethiopia. NATO countries knew about it, but kept their mouths shut. They did not say a word. They were happy. They gave arms to the aggressors--U.S. and NATO arms--through Saudi Arabia, Iran and other countries.

While the Somalis were advancing, not one word was said; ah, but when the Somalis had occupied virtually the whole of Ogaden, then the imperialists were optimistic. But when the Somalis [as heard] began to receive internationalist support and arms from the socialist bloc and Cuban internationalist fighters, then they made a big issue of it. Then they began to talk about calling on the OAU, the United Nations and others and of a cease-fire.

But when did they start to talk about a cease-fire? When the aggressors began to lose the war. When the Somalis were advancing, not a word was said, but when things began to change after the first clashes, when they realized that things could change, then they began making a big scandal and a propaganda campaign throughout the world. Then they started talking about the Cuban internationalist fighters and of Cuban troops in Ethiopia. When everything started to turn upside down, then they started talking about a cease-fire, something they did not do for months, when the reactionary aggressors were advancing. Of course, the Ethiopian Government rightfully said there would be no cease-fire while a piece of their territory was occupied, which is precisely our revolutionary philosophy. [applause]

The first counterattacks were carried out and an offensive developed. The enemy troops were routed. They had to withdraw in a hurry, abandoning tanks, cannons, artillery and all kind of arms to avoid being encircled and captured, because they were simply and totally defeated.

We must point out that the withdrawal of the Somali troops was not an act of their own will. If they had stayed 4 days more, just 4 days more, practically all their troops in Ogaden would have been encircled. As a result of the advance and the way it was carried out and the maneuvers of the revolutionary forces and the important communications centers captured, they would have been encircled in Ogaden if they had not fled at full speed. Thus, the aggressors had to withdraw. Absolutely no one in the world can be fooled by saying that the Somali Government decided to withdraw its troops. If it had not, it would have lost what remained of them. Therefore, they withdrew because of the military operations--completely defeated. This is the truth. There is no reason for lying.

We believe that the war between Somalia and Ethiopia has ended for the present because the territory has been liberated. I do not think the Somalis are tempted to commit the stupidity of launching another attack against Ethiopia, but those who once encouraged them--the reactionary countries, NATO countries and imperialism--can incite them to carry out new aggression against Ethiopia. We are sincerely in favor of peace between the two countries.

The objective of the war was the liberation of the territory occupied. We are sincerely in favor of having the Somali people live in peace so that they can really march along the path of progress and socialism. We believe that the Somali people have the conditions and virtues. As GRAMNA says very well, the Somali soldier is no coward. It is a matter of recognition: They are tough and hard fighters. Undoubtedly, they were deceived and poisoned by all that chauvinistic talk and about that idea of a greater Somalia. Let no one think of the Somali soldier as weak or incompetent. They were simply defeated. They were led badly and made mistakes. They did not evaluate the situation very well. There is no doubt that the Somali leaders made big political errors and some military mistakes which can explain the reason for their defeat, beside the fact that they were trying to carry out a big, historic crime.

The efficiency displayed by the revolutionary fighters considerably diminished their casualties in the struggle. We must say that because of the efficiency, of the magnificent, excellent training of our internationalist fighters, the casualties in the clashes were held to a minimum.

We are also giving Ethiopia our cooperation in the civilian field. In total, of doctors, health technicians and personnel, there should be--we agreed to it, and most are there--about 300 doctors and health technicians in Ethiopia. The country has over 30 million inhabitants. It is a densely populated country. Sanitation is poor. We have talked about this before. I do not think it is necessary to talk more about it. We consider that its importance and value justifies the fact that we talk about it on a day like today.

Dear comrades, let us devote the last few minutes of this ceremony to the Baragua protest and to Antonio Maceo. Let us, from the bottom of our hearts, offer the revolutionary undertaking to them. To Maceo, to Gomez, to Cespedes, to Agramonte, to Marti, to (Ayara), to (Jaragua) and to (Baires) we offer the tribute of our revolutionary efforts, the revolutionary effort made by our generation. We offer them Moncada, Granma, the Sierra, 13 March, Giron and the heroic internationalist missions of Angola and Ethiopia. [applause]

We offer them our efforts and our struggle. On a day like today, let us vow to keep going as we have up to now, enriching the pages of the history of the country. Many tasks lie ahead of us all.

The combatants are making efforts to intensify their combat training and our workers are intensifying their efforts to carry out all the tasks that lie ahead of us. Inspired by our ancestors, inspired by events such as this one, inspired by Antonio Maceo, let us carry out today's duties well.

Fatherland or death, we shall overcome! [applause]

BALAGUER ADDRESSES REFORMIST PARTY CONVENTION

FL150055Y Santo Domingo Radio Mil Network in Spanish 2200 GMT 14 Mar 78 FL

[Text] In his speech to the national convention of his party, President Balaguer today warned about the voracity of those who could be seated at the national budget table, if his political group loses the upcoming election. Dr Balaguer stated that it is possible that the fellow diners at the budget table, as a result of the upcoming elections, could be more voracious than those who have participated and satiated their appetites over the past 12 years. The warning issued to the country seems to call on the electorate to consider the appetites of the opposition leaders headed by groups which want to lead in the next election. Balaguer rejected the plan for a transition offered by the Dominican Revolutionary Party, saying that it was unnecessary.

Warning about the voracity of those who could come to power, President Balaguer defined corruption as an aspect of the world, from which our nation is not exempt. He stated that in any case it should not be thought that corruption is inevitable and necessary, although he pointed out that the next government, if it is the opposition, will not be able to end it. Balaguer believes that instead of a transition, what the country needs is the effort of all to raise the standard of living for all sectors of the country. And he stated that it is necessary for all sectors, absolutely all, to unite in the struggle against corruption and take the Dominican youth out of what he called [words indistinct]. President Balaguer stated that the fellow diners at the budget table could be more voracious than those presently there.

President Balaguer called the Dominican youths' attention to three types of revolution, clearly referring to those who called on the people to support the armed revolts of April 1965. According to the Reformist Party president, there are three types of revolution from which the Dominican youth should choose. He stated that the first type of revolutionary is the one who loves inflamatory haranging, the type which announced from Puerto Plata and before Playa Caracoles that the country was facing cataclysmic moments and from a radio station which called on the people to support a revolt which provoked foreign intervention. Balaguer cited as a second type, the revolutionary who has as his objective the destruction of the traditional society, lacks scruples and considers any method valid, be it holdup (?bank robbery) or kidnaping.

In his warning to youth on the three types of revolution, President Balaguer stated that there is a third type who believes that only peace is the magic instrument to achieve advanced social policy and the construction of any type of society in human civilization. Upon referring to the third type of revolutionary, Balaguer clearly invoked the principles of his party in the political campaign, which are based on the peace given by his government to the country. Balaguer stated that the revolutionary who bases himself on peace does not threaten the defense of the nation's economic power, but does not vacillate in confronting it when he believes that a measure which affects the economic power is necessary for the well-being of the country. In his 40-minute speech to his Reformist Party national convention, President Balaguer stated that this last type of revolutionary was the one who put the rice lands in the hands of poor farmers.

Referring to those who believe in peace as the means of carrying out revolution, the chief executive stated that this type of revolutionary was the one who closed the sawmills when he believed that their existence affected the national interest. Dr Joaquin Balaguer stated that Dominican youths should be well informed and be aware of the attitudes of the revolutionaries who resort to insulting harangue, use illicit means and destroy, and those who use peace to carry out revolution.

BURNHAM, JAGAN, SINGH DEBATE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

FL151540Y Georgetown GUYANA CHRONICLE in English 9 Mar 78 p 4 FL

[Text] Prime Minister Forbes Burnham last night stated that if Guyana was to get out of the current economic difficulties, there was no alternative to producing more, cutting down on consumption of imported items, and increasing savings.

Winding up the five-day general debate in parliament on the 1978 budget, the prime minister said only dishonest leaders would tell the people that they should not produce more.

"History will judge us if we spend our time talking nonsense and being petty at this time. This is a year when we can prove to the world we are men and not mice. This is the year we can and must accelerate our production and leave to the world a name to be proud of," he said.

National Unity

The prime minister again rejected the call by the People's Progressive Party (PPP) for a national patriotic front government, which would include an executive president with veto powers over parliament.

He said that this call was repeated in parliament by several PPP parliamentarians after they "abused" the ruling People's National Congress (PNC), and said national unity did not begin by one group abusing the other.

National unity was not forged either by bringing together two leaders of two leaderships, and by dividing ministries and memberships of commissions and other bodies.

Such an "ersatz national unity" would be based on the concept of two groups and perpetuate division," whereas national unity "means there should be one party and when we agree on our objectives, let us dissolve the other party."

Cde. Burnham said national unity should be established at the grassroots level and there must be agreement on "a community of objectives." He defended the productive labour placement programme and criticised the opposition for complaining that the public service was overstaffed while complaining when the government moved to redeploy workers to more productive areas.

Projection

The prime minister said the $643 million budget with its $1,282 million four-year financial projection was significant especially since it marked a new approach towards the national budget. It was not perfect and the opposition should offer suggestions on how it could be worked since this was not a time for histrionics.

Cde. Burnham was speaking after the two key opposition spokesmen, opposition leader Dr. Cheddi Jagan and United Force [UF] leader Marcellus Feilden Singh.

Dr. Jagan said that it was obvious that if there was no production there would be less foreign exchange and in turn there would be budget deficits and balance of payments deficits.

He argued that rice had seen only 0.6 per cent increase in overall production for the period 1964-1975 (879,000 tons) as compared with 1958-1964 (873,742 tons) while sugar had risen by only five per cent, hence there was no basis to assume that production and productivity would increase in the near future.

The production crisis, he said, was due to incorrect development strategy linked with imperialism, lack of democracy at all levels, racial and political discrimination, and cultural sppression.

"These are realities in our society and no use putting the rug over it and hope for the best," he said.

Dr. Jagan said the government's emphasis on agriculture in the four-year projection was in keeping with "the new strategy of imperialism" which he said dominated the Caribbean and wanted to keep Guyana a producer of raw materials and to supply food during the current world shortage.

He attacked the government for borrowing from Western countries and institutions, and called for a new strategy which would reflect "balanced industrial and agricultural growth."

This, he said, would provide a "more fundamental way" out of the economic difficulties than what the government proposed.

Dr. Jagan referred to his party's call for a national patriotic front from government, and he said the PPP did not want a sharing of power but was interested in a political solution to the country's problems so that all people could be involved because without such involvement there would be no development.

If the PNC had an alterntive formula then it should make it known, he said.

The opposition leader made a direct plea to Prime Minister Burnham to "fight the right wing."

He said responsibility for the country's future rested with Cde. Burnham. "If he is a socialist and if he is a revolutionary--and we would like history to record him as such--then fight the right wing, make peace with the PPP and make peace with the socialist countries. If you have problems with the right wing, mobilise your supporters," he said.

He added: "Guyana is at the crossroads and we hope the patriots of the ruling party will make decisions which will not only lead this country out of its economic crisis but which will make it, like Cuba, a shining bastion in the Americas."

The UF's Feilden Singh earlier described the economy as "gasping for breath" and he predicted that there would be "more intense chaos" in the future.

He attacked the redeployment programme, and said there should have been further cuts in allocations to the disciplined services and on foreign missions.

Capital Plan

Mr. Singh described the four-year capital plan as a "gimmick" for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with whom the government is negotiating a loan.

He called for a change, preferably of government, so that a new administration could be given the chance to run the country "on strict business lines" to ensure, he said, that the people were fed and housed and were able to enjoy the good life.

Responding to the top opposition speakers, the prime minister rejected Dr. Jagan's allegations, and particularly challenged him to show where in the society there was cultural suppression. Such suppression had existed during colonialism and in other countries, but culture was the way of life embodying the people's goals and objectives and Cde. Burnham asked whether there had been any attempt by the government to suppress the cultural expression of any section of the people.

He made it clear too that Guyana was not being dictated to by "imperialism," either in its development plan or through loans. On loans, he noted that Guyana's debt service ratio was 13 per cent, while that of Poland, an East European country, was 25 per cent. Poland alone owed G$33,000 million dollars, while the whole of the socialist group in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) owed G$110,000 million.

What was important in borrowing was whether the borrowing inhibited a country's freedom of action, whether the loans were used for developmental projects--and the opposition could not show that loans to Guyana were used for consumption or current expenditure, he said.

Cde. Burnham agreed that there should be agricultural and industrial development. There was need for capital to finance industrialisation, and this could be done through agricultural development or through attracting external financing, and the government was making efforts to secure such capital but not with great success. The opposition should have suggested ways in which this could be done, he said.

He referred to a statement by Dr. Jagan that Cuba had been able to secure cheap crude oil from the Soviet Union, and he declared that he would be prepared to appoint Dr. Jagan ambassador to Moscow particularly to negotiate such an oil purchase.

If Dr. Jagan could tell the government where to get financing for a refinery and where to secure the cheap crude oil, the administration would be indebted to him, he said.

The prime minister argued that the economy was faced with difficulties because it was unbalanced by its dependence on the three commodities--sugar, bauxite and rice, which in turn depended on external markets--by the price of oil, and by imported inflation from the West.

In such circumstances, the budget statement proposed that Guyana make use of its own human and material resources, seek to get what external assistance it could, cut down on consumption, and mobilise its savings, he said.

"There is no alternative to our increasing production and that is where we have to be honest with our people. We just have to produce more," he said.

That, he added, was the answer whether it was a capitalist or socialist society, with the diference in the two systems being what happened with the surplus which came from greater production.

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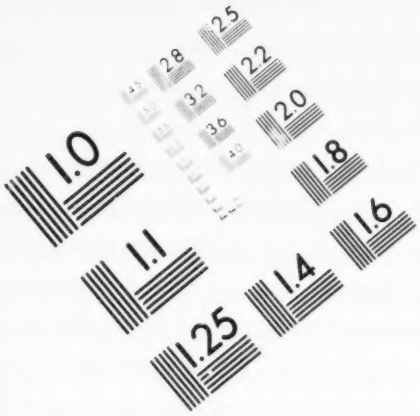

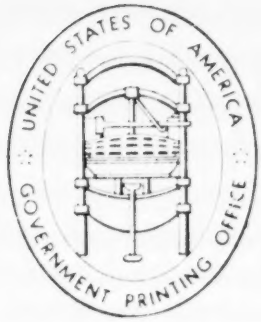

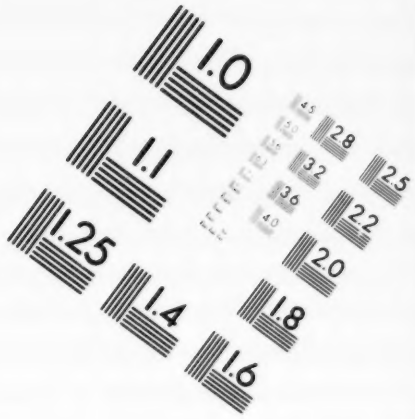

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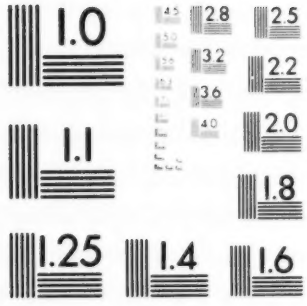

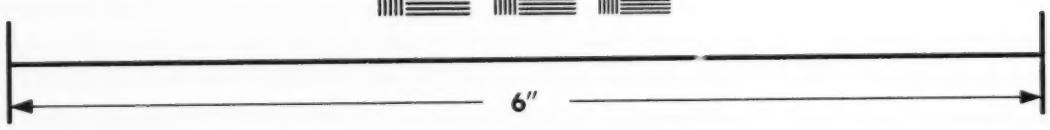

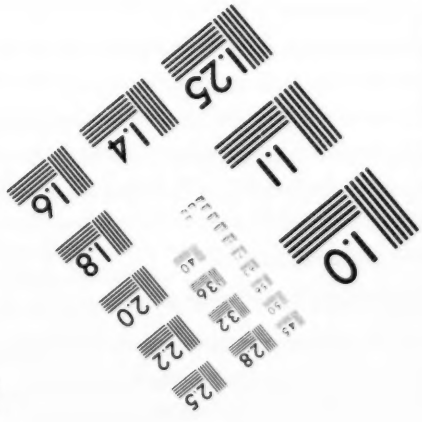

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